



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)**

PART 6 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTIONS 8 & 9

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 8 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CLEVELAND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 10/25/65	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/13-20/65
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY mln; drm
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 3/20/64, at Atlanta.

Bureau letter, dated 5/5/65. 100-439190-201

- P* -

LEADCLEVELANDAT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

CC TO:

REQ. REC'D

MAR 27 1968

ANS.

BY:

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

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INFORMANTS

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-26449-77

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Instant Report, Page
100-26449-117

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of PHILIP PASSEN and
RICHARD PEREZ

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of TED COHEN

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Informants Cont'd:

Source

Location

[REDACTED] ✓

Characterization of ART EVANS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ✓

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ✓

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ✓

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ✓

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ and
MICHAEL DAVIS

[REDACTED]

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

[REDACTED]

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

[REDACTED]

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

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Informants Cont'd:

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

Characterization of RUTH LENCL

[REDACTED]

Characterization of MICHAEL ZAGARELL
and SIDNEY PECK

[REDACTED]

Characterization of EUGENE NADLER

[REDACTED]

Characterization of DAVID K. COHEN

[REDACTED]

Characterization of RICHARD PEREZ

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

Indices of the Cleveland Division contain no information relating to Dr. SAMUEL GOROVITZ, Philosophy Department, Western Reserve University, or ELLEN ANDORS, Secretary, Friends of SNCC, Cleveland. No subversive information regarding ROY GINSBURG.

This report is classified confidential because information from [REDACTED] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S.
Army, Fort George G. Meade, Md. (RM)
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1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB,
Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: October 25, 1965

Office: CLEVELAND

Field Office File #: 100-26449

Bureau File #: 100-349190

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

- P* -

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GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating the Cleveland Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Office is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC or that SNCC is a specific target for infiltration by the CP or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of SNCC.

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on May 12, 1965 ROY GINSBURG had been successful in setting up a Friends of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organization at Western Reserve University (WRU), Cleveland, Ohio. It was stated this organization is planning to have an active participation in activities and will not just make donations of cash. It was stated SNCC is planning to charter a bus to transport individuals to Erie, Pennsylvania, where they will picket the Hammermill Paper Company because of its plans for expansion in Selma, Alabama.

Source: [REDACTED]

This source advised on July 21, 1965 SNCC Headquarters is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Source went on to report SNCC plans to hold a Chinese auction at 2460 Buckhurst Road, Beachwood, Ohio, on July 25, 1965.

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Source: [REDACTED]

This source on August 20, 1965 made available a leaflet which announced a SNCC meeting which was to be held that date. The leaflet indicated the SNCC Office was located at Apartment #6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

Source: [REDACTED]

A characterization of DCA appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [REDACTED]

This source reported on October 14, 1965 Cleveland Friends of SNCC, more commonly referred to by students at WRU and Case Institute of Technology (CIT) as just SNCC, has its headquarters at Apartment #6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS

Source: [REDACTED]

This source on May 5, 1965 made available information regarding the protest demonstration at the Hamermill Paper Products Company, Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965. This information indicated that SNCC would participate in the demonstration and that persons wishing to be connected with the demonstration would be transported by chartered bus from Cleveland to Erie, Pennsylvania. Persons interested were instructed to contact PHIL PASSEN at Pierce House, WRU, Cleveland, Ohio.

[REDACTED] advised on June 30, 1965 he heard on June 3, 1965 PHILIP PASSEN was a new member of the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (CBYSA). PASSEN was observed at an open forum sponsored by the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) on June 27, 1965.

A characterization of the CBYSA and CBSWP appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 20, 1965

Source, which is a student newspaper of WRU, carried a letter to the editor from ROY GINSBURG, Adelbert College, WRU, Cleveland, Ohio. In this letter GINSBURG indicated he is Chairman of SNCC.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on June 29, 1965 that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Spring, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[REDACTED] on January 14, 1963 identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

[REDACTED] advised on February 20, 1964 that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

[REDACTED] advised on February 10, 1965 that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist movement.

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Source: The Cleveland Press
June 21, 1965

This source carried an article which indicated that PHILIP PASSEN, a student at WRU, is President of SNCC.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on August 3, 1965 ROY GINSBURG, RICHARD (DICK) PEREZ and PHIL PASSEN appeared on radio program "Contact" at Radio Station WKYC, Cleveland, Ohio, on July 9, 1965. The announcer of the program identified PEREZ as Chairman of SNCC.

Source described program "Contact" as an audience participation type program where members of the listening audience call in questions for the guests who are appearing on the program after they have made an initial statement regarding the topic to be discussed on the program. Source went to point out that HARV MORGAN is an employee of Radio Station WKYC and is the announcer for the "Contact" program.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on May 25, 1965 advised RICHARD PEREZ was dismissed from CIT because of too many absences from class. Source stated PEREZ is from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and is the son of Lieutenant Colonel GUILLERMO A. PEREZ, United States Air Force, stationed at Pease Air Force Base, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

[REDACTED] advised on June 4, 1965 PEREZ is a member of the CBYSA.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on October 14, 1965 SNCC is officially approved as a WRU campus organization. He stated the officers are as follows:

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Chairman	-	ROY GINSBURG
Secretary	-	ELLEN ANDORS
Faculty Advisor	-	Dr. SAMUEL GOROVITZ, Philosophy Department

Source: The Case Tech
October 15, 1965

Source, which indicates it is published every week except during holiday and examination periods by the students of CIT, carried a letter to the editor from GERALD S. KIRSHENBAUM, President of CIT Senate. This letter indicated that as of May, 1965, ROY GINSBURG was Chairman of SNCC.

IV. COMMUNIST PARTY AND SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY INTEREST OR INFLUENCE
IN SNCC ACTIVITIES

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A characterization of SCEF appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

MICHAEL / 10-ART

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[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The above information was corroborated by
[REDACTED] on April 20, 1965.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] and [REDACTED] corroborated the above information on April 22, 1965, April 20, 1965, and April 27, 1965, respectively.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Kent Chapter, YSA, appears in the appendix hereto.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on May 13, 1965 a demonstration protesting United States actions in the Dominican Republic and Viet Nam was held in front of the Federal Building, Cleveland, Ohio, on May 8, 1965. This demonstration was sponsored by the Cleveland and Kent Branches of YSA, SDS, and SNCC. During this demonstration, ROY GINSBURG made the announcement there would be a demonstration in Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965 and a bus had been chartered to transport individuals who wish to participate. GINSBURG stated a large company in Erie was in the process of building a plant in Selma, Alabama, and since this company practiced segregation at the Erie plant, some people think this practice would be continued in Alabama. GINSBURG announced that civil disobedience during this demonstration would be left up to the individual, but that lawyers had already been hired to defend those who decided to disobey the law.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on May 19, 1965 a meeting of the CBSWP

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was held at 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, on [REDACTED]. During this meeting, it was announced some of those present had participated in the demonstration at the Hammermill Paper Company in Erie, Pennsylvania, over the past weekend. This demonstration was sponsored by SNCC according to the individuals who had attended from the CBSWP.

The above information was corroborated by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] on May 19, 1965 and May 25, 1965, respectively.

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 13, 1965

Source contained the following letter to the editor:

"I Wonder?

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"I note with interest that members of the SDS as well as other students are forming a campus Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Despite the term 'non-violent' in its name, SNCC is one of the most militant of the civil rights groups in the country. The northern chapters are usually controlled by such politically left-wing students as members of young socialist groups and their fronts. The first interest in the Cleveland chapter was taken by a member of the Young Socialists Alliance (YSA), for example.

"I wonder for what reason this group is being formed on campus. Both CORE and the NAACP are working very hard to correct Cleveland's civil wrongs. Of course, both of these existing groups have members who are more morally than politically oriented. If the students working towards establishing SNCC are interested in civil rights rather than in creating some new militant political action, why must they overlook the existing civil rights groups and start their own?

"Ted Schwarz
Adelbert"

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Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 20, 1965

Source contained the following letters to the editor:

"Snicker

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"Mr. Ted Schwarz in his letter to last week's Tribune criticizes the Western Reserve Chapter of Cleveland Friends of SNCC on completely false grounds. First, Mr. Schwarz is mistaken about the distinction between 'militant,' and 'non-violent.' SNCC is one of the most militant civil rights groups. However, militant refers to the attitude of SNCC concerning civil rights. SNCC is militant in that it demands equal rights for Negroes without compromise 'Non-violence,' however, is a description of physical actions, rather than mental attitude. SNCC has never become violent in any of its protests. It is completely non-violent, but it is militant. I hope the distinction is clear now.

"The claim that Friends of SNCC are controlled by socialist 'fronts' is ridiculous. The best proof of this statement is the falsity of Mr. Schwarz's claim that 'the first interest in the Cleveland chapter was taken by a member of the Young Socialist Alliance.' When Cleveland FOS was formed last summer, I took 'the first interest.' When it was reformed this spring, I again took 'the first interest.' I have not been, and I am not now a member of the YSA. At this time we have no members who are members of the YSA. We have no arguments with the YSA, but our memberships are completely autonomous.

"Mr. Schwarz wonders why a Friends of SNCC is being formed rather than having the interested parties join CORE or the NAACP. There are two reasons: first, neither the NAACP or CORE work on the Cleveland campuses. If we can form an effective organization on the WRU campus, then we can be of great help to

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"Cleveland's chapters of CORE and the NAACP in their civil rights protests; secondly, SNCC programs need publicity and support in the North. For example, this summer's civil rights activity in Washington, D.C., Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama needs volunteers and support. By publicizing these activities we can provide the needed support - both financial and moral.

"Roy Ginsburg
Chairman
Cleveland Friends of SNCC
Adelbert College"

"Why SNCC?"

"Editor, Reserve Tribune:

"In answer to the criticisms I received concerning

"my letter on the formation of SNCC, I am still wondering why it is being formed. SNCC supporters from Reserve were willing to picket the Hammermill Company in an attempt to help an economic boycott of the state of Alabama, the outcome of which many civil rights leaders now feel may be detrimental to the southern civil rights movement. However, these same students somehow failed to participate in the annual Hough area clean-up on the past few weekends. The Hough clean-up is designed to show that people outside the area do care, and that by cleaning up the streets, the people can have a better place in which to live. There was no civil disobedience involved; just the work entailed in picking up trash and placing it in a container. However, the people of Hough are walking their streets with a little more self-respect and the city government is more willing to listen to tenant complaints of slum lord violations because the people made an effort to clean-up their homes.

"Secondly, in answer to those who have told me that the SNCC chapter is helping the program of SNCC in the South, I would like to know what program. John Lewis, SNCC chairman, was quoted in the April 10, 1965, issue of the New Republic as saying: 'We want the people to tell us what we can do. We'll do anything they tell us.'

"Finally, I repeat my question of why SNCC? Both CORE and the NAACP are active in Cleveland and in need of help. If the students forming SNCC are only concerned with civil rights and not politics as well, why must SNCC be formed.

"Ted Schwarz
Adelbert"

Source: The Plain Dealer
July 25, 1965

Source carried an article captioned, "Heights Man Aiding Voter Drive in South." This article disclosed that

B. APPROX.

1943

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MICHAEL S. DAVIS, age 22, and a friend, DON GUREWITZ, are spending the summer in voter registration projects in Jackson, Mississippi. DAVIS is from 3294 Silsby Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and is working in Jackson as a representative of SNCC. In a letter to his parents and his friends at SNCC Headquarters, DAVIS wrote that he has been called "white trash" almost every day by the people on the street. He wrote, "Hardly a day goes by without a report of some violence from some part of the state." The article indicated DON GUREWITZ is from Silver Spring, Maryland, and is a freshman at WRU. It pointed out that in a telephone interview with GUREWITZ' mother, she indicated her son is in Mississippi "undoing the things which we parents should have undone a long time ago." The mothers of both DAVIS and GUREWITZ stated they were proud of their sons because they have "dedicated themselves to a nation which will be free of its most dreaded disease - segregation."

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on August 31, 1965 a meeting between DCA, SDS, SNCC and other organizations was held at DCA Headquarters, Cleveland, Ohio, on August 25, 1965. The purpose of this meeting was to determine how the organizations could work together on problems of common interest. A SNCC representative in attendance at this meeting spoke of working on a newspaper which is to be sold all over Cleveland and which will cover the news that does not ordinarily appear in the regular newspapers. This news would include such topics as police brutality and news of the war in Viet Nam. A representative of DCA raised the question of joint action of working in the community. The SNCC representatives did not think this would work as the students have not yet reached that level. One of the individuals pointed out the students have enough trouble attempting to organize on campus issues.

[REDACTED] corroborated the above information on August 26, 1965.

[REDACTED] corroborated the above information on August 30, 1965, but added the SNCC representative stated their organization is mainly campus oriented and that their program would begin at WRU when school opened. He pointed out they intend to present a number of programs and do campaigning for members of the freshmen class. Source stated the speaker did not outline the program which SNCC plans to take up.

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Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has on several occasions identified
TED COHEN as a CP member who is in Cleveland Ohio
to organize the DCA.

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

V. SOURCE OF FUNDS

Source: The Reserve Tribune
May 6, 1965

This source carried an article which indicated ROY GINSBURG had stated that last summer SNCC had collected \$150.00. GINSBURG went on to state SNCC had been inactive during the winter but recently some students at WRU had decided to re-activate the chapter.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on July 11, 1965 he attended a beer party at SNCC Headquarters on July 10, 1965, which was advertised as a fund-raising affair. The admission to this affair was \$1.00 per person, but there was no announcement as to how much money was collected.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on July 27, 1965 SNCC sponsored a Chinese auction at 2460 Buckhurst Road, Beachwood, Ohio, on

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July 25, 1965. Source learned that approximately 17 persons were in attendance at this meeting but that many more had been invited as they had paid \$90.00 for the mailing to advertise the auction. One of the persons at this meeting stated the money collected by SNCC is being sent to the South. Source was unable to determine how much money was realized from the auction but stated the committee had a bank money bag filled with rolls of coins.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

Source: [REDACTED]

Source advised on August 3, 1965, radio program "Contact" on WKYC Radio, on the evening of June 9, 1965, concerned the topic "Cracks in the System." The guests on the program were Professor EUGENE NADLER, Psychology Department, Case Institute of Technology (CIT), and Professor DAVID COHEN, History Department, CIT. At the beginning of the program, NADLER made the following statement: "Many of the problems the United States faces of social and economic instability and of war are produced by the economic and political system of capitalism." COHEN stated, "some of those cracks are related to poverty, unemployment, racism, and war. These are not accidents or isolated incidents. They are products of the American way of life."

During the program COHEN commented that SNCC is viewed as being an irresponsible organization and, therefore, does get as much publicity as certain other organizations.

[REDACTED] advised on April 26, 1955, that EUGENE NADLER joined the Communist Party (CP) in Cleveland, Ohio, about April, 1955.

[REDACTED] advised on October 2, 1964, DAVID COHEN is Assistant Professor of History at CIT. Source advised COHEN has been very active in the civil rights movement in Cleveland, and was then serving as First Vice Chairman of the Cleveland Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). COHEN has been active in various pickets and demonstrations involving CORE, and on April 7, 1964, was among a group of persons arrested by the Cleveland Police Department for interfering with construction at a school construction site. Source stated COHEN has described himself as a "socialist" in that he believes in government ownership of the basic means of production and government welfare policies.

Source pointed out, however, COHEN has expressed strong opposition to socialistic groups which embody a revolutionary concept, such as the CP and SWP. Source went on to point out COHEN was one of the CORE leaders who was most instrumental in removing SWP members and sympathizers from official positions in CORE.

Source: [REDACTED]

Source on August 3, 1965, stated that radio program "Contact" for July 9, 1965, concerned the topic, "What Can You Do With a Summer?" Source said ROY GINSBURG, DICK PEREZ, and PHIL PASSEN appeared as guests on the program. Pertinent portions of the verbatim transcript of the program is set forth below:

MORGAN: And our "Contact" subject for this evening at 241-5637, "What Can You Do With A Summer."

(GINSBURG): SNCC is the most important civil rights group in the South.

MORGAN: That's the voice of ROY GINSBURG of Western Reserve University.

(PEREZ): SNCC concentrates mainly on political organizing.

MORGAN: And DICK PEREZ, the Chairman of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC.

(PASSEN): The purpose of SNCC is to eliminate the disease of racial discrimination which exists in Cleveland and throughout the country regardless of such petty concerns as length of hair and clothing.

MORGAN: And another member of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, PHIL PASSEN.

MORGAN:

At 241-5637 our subject tonight, "What Can You Do With A Summer." Well, apparently last weekend some students, although I hasten to add not all students and not all of them were students, at Russell Point and at Geneva-on-the-Lake, they found something to do with their summer. We'll find that there is a wide range of things that students can find to do in the summertime.

Well, members of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, referred to as SNCC, S N I C K oftentimes in the paper, make a plea for fellow college students to do something very worthwhile they say with their spare time.

At 241-5637 we'll take your comments and your questions for my guests a little later on. Right now, once again, from Western Reserve, Mr. ROY GINSBURG.

GINSBURG:

7/65
SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, shortened SNCC, or pronounced SNICK, is the principal civil rights organization in the South. SNCC was formed in April, 1960, at a general conference of sit-in leaders held in Raleigh, North Carolina. To quote from the SNCC publication, "You Can Help." The original purpose of SNCC was to circulate information about the South white protest and to promote joint activities by the protest groups that made up the co-ordinating committee. SNCC employed an executive secretary, set up an Atlanta Office, issued a newspaper, and served as a clearinghouse for information about the sit-ins. The co-ordinating committee met regularly to exchange information and plan joint protests -- and plan joint protests.

In August, 1961, SNCC decided to change its tactics and set up voter registration and direct action projects with offices and permanently placed staff in various areas of the Black Belt. For example, Central Alabama, Mississippi, Southwest Georgia, Southern Virginia, Eastern Shore, North Carolina, and Central Georgia.

GINSBURG:
(cont'd.)

As of Fall, 1963, SNCC had initiated or participated in 54 local projects in 13 states.

As of January, 1964, it had 125 field secretaries throughout the North -- throughout the South, 12 office workers in Atlanta, an executive secretary and a chairman, for a total of 139 people.

The SNCC field secretary is the individual who does the actual organizing and voter registration work in a particular community. SNCC only goes into a community at the invitation of its Negro leaders. The average age of staff is 22, and 80 per cent are Negroes.

There are also Northern Friends of SNCC groups who do most of the fund raising. In 1964 the estimated budget was \$350,000. The SNCC field secretary receives \$9.64 a week.

Also in the Fall of 1963, SNCC joined the Congress of Racial Equality, CORE; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the SCLC; and the NAACP to set up the Council of Federated Organizations. COFO as most of us know, which is an abbreviation for the Council of Federated Organizations, worked in Mississippi last summer, brought in 900 white volunteers, uh, and produced the by now famous Mississippi Summer Project. At the end of summer 200 volunteers stayed down in Mississippi and the Mississippi Freedom Project began.

Meanwhile SNCC still worked in all the other areas I mentioned earlier and kept its projects going in that area. During the intervening months SNCC has been active throughout the South. And in Mississippi it set up the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which DICK will talk about in a moment, and the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union which is a union of people who -- cotton pickers, drivers, uh, this kind of thing so they can get the minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour and they are getting far below that now.

SNCC has, in the South, been very active; it's been the principal organization that works with the grass roots, that works with the community.

GINSBURG:
(cont'd.)

SNCC does not have members. They are not the kind of organization who is asked for so much money a year you can be a member. The only people who work with SNCC are people who do work full time or part time during the summer. SNCC is, and I feel, the principal civil rights organization in the South.

MORGAN:

Fine. We'll have a chance for your questions after we hear from my other two guests. And we'll hear from the next one in just a moment.

MORGAN:

"What Can You Do With A Summer." Here's another member of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, Mr. DICK PEREZ.

PEREZ:

SNCC is doing a great deal this year and this summer in the South. They're concentrating mainly in three areas in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. SNCC has found that the most effective way to deal with the problem of racial discrimination is political organizing, helping the disenfranchised Negro in the South to gain the political power that he is denied through being unable to register to vote, through not being offered a proper candidate, through being intimidated with violence and economic pressures.

SNCC is mainly working in this area then, political organizing. It has been participating in the Washington lobby of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which is a party composed entirely of Negroes in Mississippi who feel that the Congressmen from the State of Mississippi do not adequately represent that state because they were elected without the votes of a vast majority of the population there, that is the Negroes. So they have taken it upon themselves to form another party and to state that they more adequately represent the state of Mississippi and that this other party should -- the present Congressmen should be, well so to say, withdrawn from the Congress and free elections should be held when all people are registered. SNCC has

PEREZ:
(cont'd.)

worked with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on this project in the Washington lobby. Uh, this terminated about two weeks ago, I believe.

Also SNCC is working in Arkansas. They have about 50 to 100 volunteers doing political organizing in 31 Arkansas counties. In Alabama, there are also about 35 SNCC workers organizing 10 counties. Here the access -- uh, the accent is on economic as well as political. The, uh, same in Southwest Georgia. This is where SNCC originally started out. They have an economic program down there quite similar to that of the Peace Corps overseas.

SNCC is also working in Mississippi with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. As ROY stated, there are -- these farm laborers receiving salaries of 23, 33, 43 cents an hour, uh, and being denied under the minimum wage. And this work, uh, the Freedom Labor Union is to correct this, to put political pressure so that these people will receive the salary they are justly entitled to. SNCC has been organizing also in Mississippi, economically and politically, and this is its main task throughout the country, the political and economical organizing.

MORGAN:

With our third guest in the "Contact" studio, another member of Cleveland Friends of SNCC, PHIL PASSEN.

PASSEN:

As ROY said, the primary fund raising arm of SNCC are -- is the Friends of SNCC groups in the North. Right now, for example, SNCC is \$33,000 in debt with absolutely nothing in the bank. Recently, well a week ago, we got a call from the Atlanta office asking -- begging for as much in the way of financial support that we could send them. Cleveland Friends of SNCC has actually been operating about three - three and a half months now. We are a recognized organization, uh, on Western Reserve University's campus.

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PASSEN:
(cont'd.)

Primarily now we, uh, consist of white college students. Uh, this is -- well, this has happened for several reasons. First of all, we've been primarily concerned, as I said, with fund raising, uh, and we haven't really had a chance to get into the ghetto areas and to try to draw support, uh, from there. This will be done in the near future. We also -- we've, of course -- Reserve's campus and Case's campus are predominantly white and the Negroes there are basically middle class in orientation and have more to lose by participating in activities, such as SNCC, than they have to gain, they feel. As I said, we will be moving, uh, into the ghettos soon, but our primary, uh, functions to date have been fund raising. We do things, such as holding Chinese auctions in the white community, as holding beer parties, uh, in friends' apartments. Uh, we have participated in -- in demonstrations.

We participated in a demonstration in protest of the Vietnam war because this is as much a part of -- of SNCC's activities as anything else mainly because I feel, and most of the people in SNCC do feel, that the social, uh, a situation which has caused the war in Vietnam is very closely linked to the social situation which has caused racial discrimination. We participated also in the Hammermill demonstration in Erie, Pennsylvania. Hammermill is a large paper --paper company who were planning on moving a very expensive plant into -- into Selma, Alabama. As part of the general economic boycott of Alabama, we demonstrated to urge the board of directors of Hammermill to refrain from moving into Selma until definite strides were made in the area of -- of ending segregation and discrimination in Alabama. I feel that our demonstration was not a success. The president of the company said that he would go down and talk to the Registrar of Dallas County and Sheriff CLARK, et cetera. This is not what I was asking for because this really won't accomplish anything. What we would like to see done, of course, is have Hammermill refrain from moving into Selma.

PASSEN:
(cont'd.)

We're in -- we will be moving into Cleveland projects very soon because, of course, Cleveland has tremendous racial problems, uh, ranging from housing to de facto segregation in the schools to, uh, income levels, et cetera. The city itself has done very little to alleviate these problems. For example, I have an article here that I really would like to read just because I think it's -- it's an indication of the city's attitude and lack of understanding and real concern for the problems in the Hough Area, the city's largest ghetto. Uh, the article says, and it was in one of -- yesterday's paper -- one of the major dailies here:

It may cost as much as \$8,000 a unit to rehabilitate the worst vacant and vandalized properties in the Hough Area. Recently acquired by the city as demonstration projects, the two homes will be rehabilitated to show area property owners what can be done to upgrade their neighborhoods. Although recommended improvements appear plush to the casual observer, Urban Renewal Director JAMES M. LISTER indicated they may become the standard for future rehabilitation. Included in the cost of rehabilitation, which may run as high as \$16,000 for each of these two-family homes, are: built-in kitchens with stove and refrigerator, Formica topped counters, vinyl floor coverings, garbage disposals and gas fired incinerators. Floors not tile covered will be sanded and varnished, new woodwork would be installed throughout, walls plastered and painted, and new plumbing and electrical wiring, furnaces and bathroom fixtures installed. The outside would be painted, aluminum screens and storm windows installed, with new gutters, downspouts and roofs. The driveway between the two homes would be ripped out and a new asphalt drive installed, with a center divider of redwood fencing. Car ports would be constructed between paved patios at the rear of the homes and sodded and landscaped private areas at the rear of the lot. Present plans even call for reactivating the sprinkler system for the lawn at 1801 East 93rd

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PASSEN:
(cont'd.)

Street. These are not luxury items, LISTER explained. We think the planned rehabilitation of these two homes might set the standard for the neighborhood.

Now please tell me how residents of this neighborhood are going to get \$8,000 to \$16,000 to rehabilitate homes. We also in Cleveland, this summer, may be -- probably will be supporting the campaign of CARL STOKES for Mayor. So there is much to be done in Cleveland, and Cleveland Friends of SNCC intends to do their best to see that the disease of racial segregation in Cleveland is eliminated.

MORGAN:

This is HARV MORGAN - Contact. "What Can You Do With A Summer." Before we get to your calls at 241-5637, I wondered about some comments. A couple of things first. What do you think of these descriptions of, uh, people, and you've read the descriptions yourself in the various articles that describe, uh, members of SNCC, but not members of SNCC alone, that describe a great number of younger college students, or just young college students not younger, who are involved in sit-ins and demonstrations of all kinds -- words usually go something like misfits, malcontents, lacking inner worth, troublemakers, blase, overconfident to the point of being snide. You've read this sort of thing. Do you think there is anything to it?

PASSEN:

Well certainly we're malcontent. Because there is much to be malcontent about, uh, in this society. I think too that we're, uh, what was the word you used?

MORGAN:

Misfits?

PASSEN:

Inter -- inner strength or something like ---

MORGAN:

---values.

PASSEN: Inner values. Well, I don't think we're lacking inner values. But I certainly think we're lacking uh, inner rest or inter--inner satisfaction. Because there's nothing that I can see to really be satisfied about in this -- this society. Uh, we're doing something, actually we're involved in a revolution in this society. And if revolutionaries are misfits and I'd -- and they probably are, because I'm not fit to live in this society as it -- it exists now.

MORGAN: Well, do you think this society, as it exists now in 1965, is an improvement over the society that existed in this same geographical location --- the whole country in 1945, or 1935, or 1925. Do you think we improved any?

GINSBURG: Without a doubt this society is better. But this society -- American society has a long way to grow.

MORGAN: Well, were there malcontents, then, uh, to this degree in 1945 (?). We had them. We had them. But did we have them to the degree we hear about now, do you think?

PEREZ: No. You don't have the malcontents -- you had them to the degree, but they weren't known to each other and they were kind of off in a corner by themselves. And it's just recently that students, in particular, have gotten together and started voicing their malcontent and have gotten together in groups where you can see them. And now people say, well all of a sudden everyone is malcontented. It's not true. The fact is they've always been there; it's just now that they're realizing they can come out and they can do something about it rather than just sit in a corner and be malcontent.

GINSBURG: For example, I think, uh -- the thing is that it is a sign of growth in American society. That people are engaged, uh, in these kind of protest demonstrations, marches, et cetera, et cetera. I mean also the fact that, uh -- it was my impression until three or four years ago that what -- you know, the standard question goes around what can an individual do. Why one person can't do nothing was the standard answer. But the point is that that there are 250 people who are changing an entire state. For example, in Mississippi we're changing the mores, the structure of society in that state.

MORGAN: Who are those people?

GINSBURG: SNCC. The SNCC staffers in ---

MORGAN: --- MARTIN LUTHER KING, and CORE, and JAMES FARMER had nothing to do with it?

GINSBURG: Well MARTIN -- the SCLC, MARTIN LUTHER KING's organization, has never operated in Mississippi in a -- any great detail except for donating money, and that wasn't very much, to COFO which was predominantly SNCC. CORE provided workers for the fourth district in Mississippi. And SNCC provided workers for the first, second, third and fifth districts in Mississippi.

MORGAN: Well, I meant more in relationship to could what has happened in Mississippi have been done without the larger framework constructed by the other, uh, civil rights organizations.

GINSBURG: What do you mean by the larger framework?

MORGAN: By the national picture that MARTIN LUTHER KING, as a dynamic leader has -- has established in, uh, the mind of the public, uh, that the work that CORE has done on the national level.

PEREZ: Well, it didn't seem to have changed Mississippi until SNCC went into Mississippi and started to work.

MORGAN: But then you had a framework within which to work. Uh, you could point outwardly, couldn't you, to improved conditions in other states?

GINSBURG: No, not really.

MORGAN: You couldn't?

GINSBURG: Not in Mississippi. Because Mississippi ---

MORGAN: ---Mississippi is surrounded by this framework I'm speaking of. Other states, namely.

GINSBURG: Yeah, but Mississippi, as the title of SILVER's book said, Mississippi is a closed society literally. Uh, they don't even trust cars that have Georgia license plates. Mississippi is a complete and different society from, uh, any other state.

MORGAN: But also, as pointed out by that same book, uh, a very changing society even though a closed society that, uh, as Mr. SILVER pointed out, that members of this society are beginning at least to want to change even if they cannot afford economically and from a lack of -- of courage to change.

GINSBURG:

Yeah. I think Mississippi is changing. I mean this is rather apparent. But I think that individuals, and I'm speaking about SNCC, uh, had -- did the initiating --- Of course, without the Federal Government, without the news media, without other civil rights organizations, nothing could have been done. But the point is that these -- that SNCC first went into Mississippi and got the changing about that way. And if SNCC and COFO, which are practically synonymous, had not been in Mississippi, uh, there -- there would be no change.

MORGAN:

One other question before we take that first call at 241-5637. I think this must be asked in view of the fact that you mentioned that you were going to campaign for CARL STOKES, uh, for mayor. Now we're not going to get into the, uh, various candidates for mayor here on the program. But since Mr. STOKES is the only Negro running, is this -- is he being supported because he is a Negro or is he being supported because of the five established candidates he is the best one in your mind.

PASSEN:

Well, he's -- we're definitely not supporting him because he's a Negro. We'd never support anybody just because he was a Negro. The part of SNCC's philosophy is the organization of independent political action for Negroes. For instance, the MFDP. Uh, also the various Freedom Now Parties have -- have SNCC's support. Uh, STOKES says he is running as an independent. Uh, and this ---

MORGAN:

So I believe does MC ALLISTER.

MALE CALLER:

Uh, yes. I have a pamphlet here. It was a speech by O. B. PORTERFIELD (phonetic), a minister in Montgomery, Alabama. It's the Cleveland Avenue Church of Christ, 4214 Cleveland Avenue, Montgomery, and this speech was made over a television station in Montgomery. Of course, we didn't see it here. However, he claims that

MALE CALLER:
(cont'd.)

all sorts of crimes went on in the Montgomery and Selma Marches; people were arrested for indecent exposure, terrorism, and so on. And he claims that he was there in person and he says that the ministers -- isn't it the rankest type hypocrisy for ministers to say that we are preaching spiritual things and instead they are parading up and down the street with agitators, law breakers, et cetera, trying to obtain material goods. At any rate, uh, anyone that wants may obtain this speech for nothing by writing to the church in Alabama. And the question I have of Mr. PASSEN. Uh, in 1928 an American Communist, uh, named JOSEPH POGANNIE (phonetic), and he has a few other aliases, namely JOHN PEPPER, he wrote a 16-page pamphlet entitled "American Negro Problems," which he and his boss STALIN established the long-range Communist program in fermenting and using the Negro revolutionary movement. And there is almost nothing written, preached or done under the civil rights slogan today that is not in accordance with the planning and instructions laid down by this Communist 40 years ago.

MORGAN:

Could you substantiate, sir, the relationship between Mr. PEPPER and Mr. STALIN?

MALE CALLER:

Yes, Mr. PEPPER was also known as JOSEPH POGANNIE (phonetic); he was born in Hungary; ---

MORGAN:

But perhaps I'm misinformed, this doesn't mean much to me. I mean how do we know that you say -- that this was, uh ---

MALE CALLER:

Well, this pamphlet -- he was -- it's a -- he's a known Communist. He wrote this in 1928. He also wrote many other pamphlets -- Communist pamphlets. He's a well-known Communist. He was -- uh, led the uprising in Hungary. He was known there as JOSEPH POGANNIE (phonetic). Later he was JOSEPH SCHWARTZ (phonetic). Later in the American Communist Party he was JOSEPH LANG (phonetic), but he's most widely remembered by his American pen name of JOHN PEPPER.

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MORGAN: All right then. Your question for Mr. PASSEN?

MALE CALLER: Well, I have a couple of questions for him. First of all, uh, how does he like being in jail in Selma, Washington, and Erie? Second question is since all of these things being done under the label of civil rights were laid down by a Communist nearly 40 years ago, uh, we want to wake up, or we should think that the civil rights people would wake up and to realize the evil forces and evil purposes behind this pretense of humanitarianism.

MORGAN: Is that a question, sir?

MALE CALLER: Yes.

MORGAN: Okay.

MALE CALLER: In other words, are they going to wake up and realize that there is evil forces behind it and trying to use it and that a lot of the things going on were laid down in 1948 by the Communists?

PASSEN: Well, first of all, uh, as far as being in jail in these three places, uh, I felt I didn't -- well I didn't enjoy being in jail, but I felt I was in jail, uh, as a result of a very just cause and a very just action on my part. I was demonstrating peacefully, which is a right guaranteed by the United States Constitution. Uh, and if law officials in these various places feel that they have a right to throw me in jail, well this is -- this is to be expected. Uh, but ---

MORGAN: Why did they?

PASSEN: Why did they throw me in jail? Well, in Washington, uh, I was in jail for a Vietnam demonstration I was sitting in at the White House. In Erie, I was in the Hammernill demonstration. And I wasn't in jail in Selma.

MORGAN: But if this was a peaceful demonstration -- did they have a hook of the law to hang this on?

PASSEN: Well yeah. They can -- in -- in Washington, of course, we were blocking Federal property. Uh, this was what they used. In ---

MORGAN: So you then were interfering with the right of someone else to move about freely, weren't you?

PASSEN: Well, but what I was doing while interfering with a very minor right of someone else, I was working for a very major right of an entire race of people in this country. So I feel, uh, that I was completely justified in what I was doing.

As far as the allegation that the civil rights movement is Communist inspired, led and directed, uh, well a basic -- a basic plank in the -- in the general platform of socialist groups, uh, is equality - complete equality. Uh, the feeling is, uh, that when there is no competition, uh, for jobs, uh, the white workers will not have a need to, uh, to discriminate and fear the Negro. Also, KARL MARX once wrote that, uh, white labor cannot be freed until black slaves are emancipated or some -- something like that. Uh, this was not a -- a -- the movement itself is not Communist led, directed, instigated or anything like that. It just happens to be in line with basic ideals of socialist parties.

MALE CALLER: Do you think from your experience in demonstrations, such as the one in Geneva, Ohio, quicker police action could have prevented a lot of damage and unnecessary injuries?

MORGAN: Well, these gentlemen were not connected at all with the one in Geneva. I merely mentioned the Geneva, uh, earlier, saying that this is as far as most people are concerned, and I'll have to include myself among them, was of a kind of a wasted, uh, kind of expenditure of energy. But let's briefly deal with the question. Yes - anyone.

GINSBURG:

Yeah. First of all, uh, some of us were involved in Geneva. And I think we'd all agree that the results of the demonstration, or the what -- the rioting in Geneva, was a complete and total waste.

I also, uh, would like to mention one thing concerning the previous question which I think needs answering on one point. When people say that Communist goals -- this is a Communist goal and therefore that it is a wrong goal, let me propose the following. Every goal that the Communists are for are not wrong goals. For example, the Communists want to feed their own people. The Communist countries, for example Russia, would like to provide adequate housing. We would surely all agree that adequate housing, proper food, proper clothing is, uh, a general humanitarian goal in every country, no matter what kind of government it's under. Just because the Communists happen to be for the goal of civil rights -- for civil rights, does not mean at all that civil rights is part of the Communist conspiracy. It just means that the two different types of governments, uh, feel that one goal -- the same goal in their own countries are correct.

MORGAN:

Let's deal with this because I'm sure it's a question that will be repeated and repeated. And I think we have other areas to explore tonight other than the, uh, Communist connections. So let's once and for all deal with it for a moment.

Now, are you merely saying then that there's merely a philosophic connection -- that just because our goals might be the same, some of the Communist goals and some of the civil rights goals or the SNCC goals, this is not necessarily a direct tie-in. Right so far.

PASSEN:

Exactly.

GINSBURG:

Right.

PEREZ:

Right.

MORGAN:

All right. But can we not go beyond that and say, maybe not necessarily so but what about factually so. Deal with the charges. The charges are that, uh, SNCC for example, is tainted by, uh, Communist connections through this Southern Educational -- what is it, the BRADEN -- CARL -- ED BRADEN's organization, that has been called a number of times -- the BRADENS have before the House Un-American Activities Committee for whatever this is worth. Uh, it's been charged that the Lawyers Guild, I believe, is, uh, leftist. It's been charged that other organizations that are connected with SNCC, and that SNCC does not as a part of their requirement, uh, feel that it is incumbent upon them to go out and investigate the politics of everyone involved. So can we safely assume that there might very probably be Communists in SNCC?

PEREZ:

Yeah you can -- you can assume that. Sure, because SNCC -- the only criteria for working for SNCC is that you are willing to do a good job, you're willing to work hard. And you're willing to accomplish SNCC's goals -- political organizing, economic organizing, to eliminate this racial discrimination in the country. We don't care if you're a Communist, a John Birchener, or what. Just as long as you do the job that SNCC laid out. And we don't ---

MORGAN:

All right then. Are your goals just within SNCC more important than the goals, say of the United States, if a ---

PEREZ:

Well, what are the goals of the United States? Assuming the goals of the United States are the ones set down in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence and the Amendments of the Constitution, then the goals of SNCC are strictly derived, in a strict deductive sense, from the founding of the United States.

MORGAN:

Well, you know what I'm asking.

PEREZ:

No, I don't.

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MORGAN: You know what I'm asking.

GINSBURG: No, I don't.

MORGAN: As well as I do. Uh, I am asking since you are not interested in whether or not a member is a Communist, is it not important to know -- to know whether he is a Communist inasmuch as ---

GINSBURG: Why?

MORGAN: Just because -- well on the -- from looking at it from the view of someone who opposes you. We are, as a matter of national policy this gentleman would say, against Communists. So -- if you accept a Communist into your organization are you not doing something detrimental then, according to this view, to the United States?

PEREZ: That would be just, uh -- actually another form of discrimination. I don't see why SNCC should eliminate Communists if they can do the job and accomplish the goals we've set forth. The United States, I think, quite persecutes Communists today.

MORGAN: But as a matter of national policy, they are against Communists, right.

PEREZ: Yes, as a matter of national policy they are. But SNCC, as a matter of policy, is not. And this is one place where SNCC, I think, you'll find contradicts with the United States.

MORGAN: Is in conflict with the United States Government.

GINSBURG: No.

FASSEN: Why?

GINSBURG:

Let me reiterate the position. If a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to socialism; if a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to Communism, there's a distinction between the two, I think, we'll all admit. If a person feels that civil rights would be beneficial to right-wing movements for his own personal reasons, SNCC as an organization doesn't care. The point is that SNCC wants to get people in whose basic belief is in human equality, human worth, forgetting their own personal political beliefs. If they believe in this, then that's enough quality -- enough criteria -- sufficient criteria for having them work in SNCC towards civil rights.

MORGAN:

All right. I wanted to make sure that the air was cleared on this -- this whole thing. Because this is an area we could spend a whole program on. Are you satisfied that your position is clear now, if not -- anything else to say on it.

GINSBURG:

Yeah, I'd like PHIL to answer the initial charge that was made because he was on the March -- or he was in Selma, uh, concerning alleged sexual deviations and practices, uh, and this kind of thing.

PASSEN:

Well, I saw none of this. Uh, there were certain instances which point to, I think the extreme doubtfulness of -- of this sort of thing. First of all, there was circulated on the final day of the March -- in Montgomery there was a flyer which said, everybody come to tent number 9 at the civil rights march camp site every night for MARTIN LUTHER KING's own girlie review, uh, and be treated to the favors of the girls afterwards. Uh, there was no such thing on the March at the camp site every night. But everybody I talked to in Montgomery believed that there was and never questioned the origin of this flyer for a minute.

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MORGAN: What was the origin of the flyer, do you know?

PASSEN: I don't know. But I would tend to believe that it was, uh, printed by a white -- right wing group, such as the White Citizens Council or something like that.

MORGAN: Well, weren't these charges pretty well dispelled in Congress?

FEMALE CALLER: I realize that you've answered part of this question, but I'd like to ask it the way I had originally started. Isn't it true that SNCC is heavily infiltrated by Communists, and I specifically call attention to the March 18, 1965, Congressional Record where it is documented by Senator EASTLAND. And then I've got another question---

MORGAN: Uh, don't you agree that Senator EASTLAND speaks from rather a unique position?

FEMALE CALLER: He happens to be Chairman of the Senate Internal Security ---

MORGAN: ---he also happens to be the Senator from Mississippi, doesn't he?

FEMALE CALLER: Well, uh, if you ---

MORGAN: ---which might have something to do with it down there.

FEMALE CALLER: If you're going to look at things that way you have to look at an over-all picture of some of the people that are involved with, uh ---

MORGAN: ---but you have to look at it that way because politically if he's going to, uh, remain a political figure in that state, he must, uh, take a certain predictable position.

FEMALE CALLER: Uh, there have been a lot of other gentlemen, like Senator UTT (phonetic) that have, uh, put things in the Congressional Record. You can find many, many instances of this. The other thing is I'd like to know why Western Reserve seems to be staffed by so many left-wing professors.

MORGAN: Maybe it's a hot bed, is it?

FEMALE CALLER: Well it would appear to be that way. I'm personally very ashamed of Western Reserve.

MORGAN: You are? Well, let's find out. ROZ.

GINSBURG: I think that Western Reserve is an up and coming university. I think that the professors involved have got a -- a good perspective on American society, on politics. They spend many years studying it. They've had to write a thesis on various subjects. They're people who are involved; who just read books and don't read allegations presented by Senator EASTLAND, who owns a plantation in Mississippi, and who pays his Negro workers 65 cents a day. Uh, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee is a committee, uh, which is known to be anti-civil rights. And which has used every means possible, including these broad, ridiculous terms of Communist which have no meaning when you ask people what they mean by a Communist, would they define to be a Communist, what they think a Communist is. And I'm sure Senator EASTLAND really doesn't have a good idea -- I've got a strong doubt that he's ever read any Marxist-Leninist works, for example, and really knows what a Communist is. Uh, as far as Western Reserve University, uh, as I mentioned before, the campus is becoming alive; people are reading on the campus in terms of students, and the faculty -- I think we would all agree are

GINSBURG: generally the people who read the most, who know most about their particular area. And I think it is good to follow their lead.

FEMALE CALLER: Well, I don't know what all the Federal grants are but, uh, this is just one of the things. Let me ask Mr. GINSBURG something else. He made a statement about this meeting in Atlanta when they first -- these 250 people originally started this SNCC group. Uh, it was brought out there that one-third of those present at this conference wore beards. And some of those who wore beards were directly connected with the CASTRO movement and were symbolic of that movement. And several of the beard wearers declared that they would shave until the revolution was successful.

MORGAN: What Revolution? CASTRO?

FEMALE CALLER: Well, I guess the revolution they're planning in the United States. That may sound a little silly but, uh ---

MORGAN: All right. Let's both find out.

GINSBURG: Uh, that's a completely and totally and utterly ridiculous charge. Last summer I knew and now know about three-quarters of the STICK's -- SNCC's staff and about half of the volunteers. Last summer in the staff that went down to Mississippi, out of 1100 people there were two gentlemen who wore beards. And two out of 1100 is a long way from 550, which you claim 50 percent. Also, uh, you got your facts wrong in that SNCC, uh, was not initiated by 250 people. It was initiated by 13, and none of them wore beards.

PEREZ: I think the matter of wearing beards in the South is entirely irrelevant. Because a person wears a

PEREZ:
(cont'd.)

heard this naturally with him (1) a follower of CASTRO, (2) a Communist. Uh, this whole concept of, uh, the way a person dresses or looks associated with a political party, it's -- it's -- I can't -- I don't see any basis for it at all.

MALE CALLER:

Yes. I'd like to have Mr. PASSEN's comments on a sworn affidavit by CARL FRESHAN (phonetic), who was a counterspy for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1947 to 1960. Uh, Mr. FRESHAN (phonetic) said that he attended meetings of Communists at the home of Mr. ED BECK (phonetic) who is now a secretary of the NAACP and a member of the Congress on Racial Equality - CORE. He also said, I further swear and attest that at each and every one of the aforementioned meetings our Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING was always set forth as the individual to whom Communists should look and rally around in the Communist struggle in many racial issues. I hereby also state that MARTIN LUTHER KING has either been a member of or willingly (or wittingly?) has accepted support from over 60 Communist fronts, individuals, and/or organizations which give aid to or espouse Communist causes.

MORGAN:

And when was this testimony taken, sir?

MALE CALLER:

This is an affidavit that was given before GEORGE E. _____, a Notary Public on September 28, 1963.

MORGAN:

Any knowledge of this now?

PASSEN:

No. I have, uh, no knowledge of this. Except that in Alabama, uh, there are pictures -- books -- billboards throughout the state of MARTIN LUTHER KING at a -- attending a class at a school called Highlander Folk School. Uh, this -- well, if you've heard of PETE SEGER, who happens to be a very well-known folk singer, uh, he is very active in this -- in this school and it's just a school for, you know, studying American folklore and probably most of the

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PASSEN: people are leftist oriented. But the sign, (cont'd.) you know, I read J. EDGAR HOOVER KING is a Communist. And this is a Communist institution. Uh, ---

MALE CALLER: Oh excuse me. It was closed by the state of Tennessee for being a subversive Communist institution.

PASSEN: Tennessee is in the South.

MALE CALLER: Well, yes, I know that. So what's wrong with that. So was GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PASSEN: Well, uh, I -- I don't think that GEORGE WASHINGTON did very much for the cause of civil rights. Uh, I would like to say that just because the goals in this particular area of revolutionary socialists agree with goals of SNCC, and the socialists work with SNCC and other civil rights groups, uh, this does not mean that when the civil rights groups feel that they have accomplished as much as they can -- have -- as much as they can accomplish that they will join with these revolutionary socialists and, uh, work for the revolution. It just means that they are willing to work with them now because these people are working for the same goals that SNCC is working for.

MALE CALLER: Yes. I'd like to point out that J. EDGAR HOOVER has said. Time itself has shown that the Communist Party is not interested in the welfare of the Negro but only in using him as a tool to advance Party interests. And for, uh, you may think that you are going to use the help of some of the Communists, you don't care what they are when you accept their help, but they'll wind up using these people. And that's what I'm afraid of with so many Communists being in the civil rights movement or having their hands in there in one way or another.

MALE CALLER:
(cont'd.)

However, I'd like to go on to another subject. You mentioned Hough Avenue and urban renewal. Well, Hough Avenue became a slum because the City of Cleveland spent millions taking people's homes from them in another urban renewal area, tearing down the houses, and not replacing them with better homes, and those people had to go somewhere. They jammed into the Hough area and caused it to be a slum and then the city comes along and says, oh my God look what we have, another slum, which they caused. Now I'd like to point out that the Sioux Indians of South Dakota decided they wanted better homes to live in. They sold bonds, built single-family homes, which they rented to members of their tribe for \$50 a month. That's low rent. They're raising the money raised by the sale of bonds locally without taking any Federal taxpayers' money. Mr Cleveland, Chief JOSEPH has obtained millions of dollars of taxpayers' money from the Big Chief in Washington under the Urban Renewal Program, has confiscated land belonging to many people, displaced thousands more people who moved into the Hough area, creating more slums. And I don't know of any homes or apartments renting for \$50 per month in either Cleveland reservation. The Sioux Indians are way ahead of our supposedly civilized all powerfull centralized government in Washington. Perhaps we should give the country back to the Sioux and let them teach us how to run it.

FEREZ:

Well, I think you've got a valid point there. Oh, there has been a great big bungle and a big mess with this urban renewal and I think it -- it's just on the basis that our government really doesn't understand what these people want. As I'll read in an article earlier, these people don't need tile floors, they don't need garbage disposals, gas incinerators. What they need is a house free from roaches, with a working toilet with hot and cold running water, with a roof that

PEREZ:
(cont'd.)

doesn't leak. And when the city wakes up to this fact and realizes the people's needs are more basic than all this fancy luxuries, then you'll start solving your problem of urban renewal.

GINSBURG:

Sir, I would like to invite you personally, and I think on behalf of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, to work with us in our Cleveland programs. And I think your ideas are very good.

FEMALE CALLER: Yes. I have a statement and also a question. Uh, in regard to the Hough area there. I was raised in this area and I have noticed the rapid change since these people came into this area. It is really a disgrace, and HARV MORGAN I dare you to create a motorcade of buses of people to go through this area and see what damage these people have done. There are bars on the windows, windows ripped out, doors taken off. It is worse than the state of Arkansas where they have no doors or windows, and the pigs run in and out of the houses on stilts.

MORGAN:

Why do you think this happens. Uh, I don't think anyone is denying a great deal of what you are saying ---

FEMALE CALLER: Believe me, this has happened through the people that have come in there. ---

MORGAN:

It's because they're Niggers, is that it?

FEMALE CALLER: No property -- no property owner could begin to keep up with it. It's a total disgrace. ---

MORGAN:

Is it because these people are Nigger that they did this?

FEMALE CALLER: I don't know what kind of people they are. I was brought up on the farm when I was a child, and believe me I've fed the swine, and I've fed the cows, and I've fed the chickens. And I have never seen any animals destroy like these people have done.

MORGAN: All right. Any comments on this.

PASSEN: Madam, first of all I would like you to -- well you cannot -- I would like to tell you that you cannot imagine the psychological, uh, reaction, the depression, the -- the, uh, tendency -- the inevitable tendency to just give up when you've existed in a society which does not give you the opportunity to get a job that most people can get; to get an education that most people can get; to -- to live where most people can live. This -- I cannot myself, uh, imagine really the psychological reactions that would develop. I've read as much as I can on it -- on this sort of thing by Negro authors. Uh, you -- the attitude that develops is one of, well we're not going to get anywhere, there's no use in trying. Uh, and it's an inevitable attitude. We're trying to change the societal conditions which bring on this attitude.

MORGAN: Before we take the next call, let's delve into this subject we're using, for a moment, "What Can You Do With A Summer." Actually I think you've indicated, uh, DIKK and RIE and PHIL, what you think you can do with a summer. What you are indeed doing with a summer. But with you it's not just a summer, is it?

PEREZ: No. That's right. I feel, and I think SNOW feels as a whole, that they don't want anyone to say, well for this summer I'm going to devote it for someone else. We like everyone for just a small portion of every day and in his every-day practices to devote it to something else,

PEREZ:
(cont'd.)

to strive for Negro freedom, to strive for equal rights for all. It's just not a summer deal. It's not a summer one shot deal. In other words, I went down to Mississippi this summer I'm absolved. I never have to work again. We at SNCC -- I work full time, PHIL works full time, ROY does. We feel strongly enough. We don't ask everyone to do this. All we ask is that every day that everyone do something rather than just spending the summer and calling it quits. So actually this is more than what to do with a summer, it's something to base your life on.

MORGAN:

I wonder as far as SNCC is concerned, now as I understand it, uh, correct me where I go a little way here, but from the interview that ROBERT FELL WARREN had with, uh, one of the directors of, uh, SNCC. Is it BOB MOSES?

GINSBURG:

Yeah. He interviewed BOB MOSES who was in charge of the, uh, the Mississippi Summer Project, who was the Executive Secretary of COFO, and with STOKELY CARMICHAEL (phonetic), who is and was in charge of the Second Congressional District in Mississippi.

MORGAN:

I think that an important point was made there that it is the endeavor -- and was he speaking for the entire organization SNCC, when he said that it's his aim to be -- uh, to get rid of the conditions of being a victim, to get rid of this condition without becoming an executioner. That therefore you're aiming for this -- this middle ground. Because as is often the case, the slave becomes the master, the oppressed becomes the oppressor. Is this an over-all aim then of SNCC?

PEREZ:

Yes, definitely.

MORGAN:

And where is this rooted? In what kind of psychological thinking?

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GINSBURG: It's rooted in the basic concept of SNCC, of a participatory democracy. Not where any one individual lords it over any other individuals, or anyone is the boss and the other people are the workers or what have you. Uh, where each individual is equal and can work. Not so that the Negro in the South and North in America becomes the boss, so to speak, and control the strings in every way. But just so that the Negro can move into the mainstream of American life, he can have the same opportunities, the same chances that white people do in America.

MORGAN: All right. There is a word called involved. Now why should this involve you, for example, PHIL?

PASSEN: Well, I think it should involve everybody. Uh, because it's -- it is just as impossible to me to imagine someone who lives in a society and who sees people oppressed and discriminated against and in a sense spat upon all the time, uh, to -- for a person who lives in this sort of a society not to be concerned, not to be -- to be involved. We are all human beings and it just seems obvious to me that we should all work, uh, for the uplifting of -- of fellow human beings.

MORGAN: All right. We just have time for a couple of quick calls. Let's have your please. Go ahead. You're in "Contact."

MALE CALLER: Thank you. Uh, one thing. Uh, Mr. PASSEN mentioned awhile ago, uh, the relevance of Vietnam to the Negro question. And I'd like to know how this ties in. Also, uh, in relation to Western Reserve -- in relation to the fellow who called a number of minutes ago. Reserve is hardly, and I'm in a position of some knowledge as a student there, a hot bed of leftists.

MORGAN: Boy, I'm glad we disposed of that. What about the first part?

PASSEN: Uh ---

MORGAN: What's the relationship to Vietnam?

PASSEN: Well, it's basically, uh, at least in my philosophy, it's basically the, uh, business interests of the country who are pursuing, uh, the war in Vietnam and who, uh, are encouraging its development, uh, to protect United States business interests abroad.

Uh, likewise it's -- it's the business interests and the power structure, uh, that feels, uh, that they will have an advantage if -- if Negroes, uh, are a victim -- are someone, you know, to, uh, -- victimize. Uh, it's -- it's also, I think, a general, uh, lack of concern by the American people, uh, for real democratic concepts. Uh, the war in Vietnam is, uh, is a sham if we consider it a democratic -- you know, a war to preserve democracy because it's destroying democracy, it's working against the basic principles of democracy. Just as, uh, the Negro situation in America is in direct opposition to concepts of democracy.

MORGAN: And we have no concern, uh, in our intervention in Vietnam in the freedom of the Vietnamese people or the preservation of their society from Communism. Ours is purely then a selfish interest, one of our own gain?

PASSEN: Definitely. I think so because the majority -- well, for what it's worth, President EISENHOWER said, and most people who aren't in the Army who have been in Vietnam, said that the majority of the Vietnamese, uh, are in support of the Vietcong movement. And we are directly stifling, uh, a movement which has the support of the majority of the people.

MORGAN: Well, I believe as far as EISENHOWER is concerned said that, that condition would have existed in 1954.

PASSEN: Fifty-six.

MORGAN: Well, back then, some years ago anyway, which may or may not -- you may or may not agree with that same position today. Well, our position is that we have time for just one quick call. Let's have yours. Go ahead. You're in "Contact."

MALE CALLER: Uh, gentlemen, I couldn't agree with you more this evening. And I first have a statement and a question. I'll get into this. Last summer -- last semester I and a few exchange students worked on the East Side of Cleveland with a mortgage firm, and we were generally just painting and cleaning up and attaching screen doors and affixing screen windows throughout the whole area. And we were treated rather kindly and the people mostly accepted these. And uh, like I say, we were treated very nicely. But the thing that I could not understand is the general lack and lack of consideration as to this problem of rats and roaches, which we could not understand. The people themselves are faced with this problem but yet they are not interested in, shall we say, preserving a lot of their perishables in containers that would not admit rats to these containers, such as flour and things like this. It's rather just strewn throughout haphazardly. Now I was just wondering if there could be, uh -- we've talked about this -- some type of program instituted and what are the chances of this being followed up as far as pest control. I mean, let's face it, rats just don't come into a house to watch television. If there's nothing to eat ---

PEREZ: Yeah. This is a good point, and I invite you to work with us. We -- we feel strongly about this too. And the reason that it's allowed to go on in a community like this is a person is brought up in an environment. He's always had rats in the

PEREZ:
(cont'd.)

house. And until you show him that you can better him, until you show him that he needn't have rats in the house, he's going to let them stay. I mean, he's always known it. So it's up to, uh, to us and to other people to show him, uh, you know, to get rid of these rats. And I invite you to work with us on this project.

MORGAN:

Speaking of pests, we have a pest here. His name is KEN COURTWRIGHT and he insists that he has some news coming along at this time. In just a moment you'll hear KEN COURTWRIGHT with the news on WKYC Radio, Cleveland, Ohio. My thanks so much tonight to ROY GINSBURG, DICK PEREZ and PHIL PASSEN, all of the Cleveland Friends of SNCC, for joining me on "What Can You Do With A Summer" on "Contact" this evening.

*

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A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild appears in the Appendix hereto.

Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the CP, testified before the Jefferson County, Kentucky, Criminal Court on December 11 and 13, 1954. This testimony was in connection with a state sedition prosecution against CARL JAMES BRADEN, and AHEARN identified BRADEN and his wife, ANNE, as having been known to her to be members of the CP in Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951 to shortly before the time of her testimony.

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Source: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) appears in the Appendix hereto. A characterization of DONALD FREEMAN is included in the RAM characterization.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Source: [REDACTED]

Source on September 20, 1965, made available the September 16, 1965 issue of "The Alternative", which is self-described as a publication of the YSA. This publication contained a list of questions and answers, one of which read as follows:

"Do you feel the future is as dim for SNCC as for MFDP?" The answer read: "No ----- The leadership of SNCC is made up of hardened vets. These vets were intimidated by the FBI and shot at by night riders long before the federal

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"government thought of trying to pay them off. Most of the field workers came into the movement as radicals of one variety or another. They had their worst suspicions of the federal government confirmed." The publication also indicated it would co-sponsor a beer party with SNCC at Apartment 6, 2123 Stearns Road, on September 18, 1965.

Source: "The Case Tech"
October 15, 1965

Source carried an article entitled, "SNCC Prints 'The Drummer'". According to this article, "The Drummer" is a bi-weekly paper aimed at the poor people of the Negro and white ghettos in Cleveland. The paper had no editor as such, and uses its entire staff for editorial decisions. Its purpose is to inform the people of the things that are played down in the general press or just fail to get reported. The paper was started by Cleveland Friends of SNCC, and is completely handled by a staff of interested people from all segments of society in Cleveland. Other organizations, such as SDS, assist with its circulation.

(1)

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications (and Appendixes), revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., cited National Lawyers Guild as follows:

"Cited as a Communist front.

"(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)

"Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

"To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are * * * the National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'

"(Internal Security Sub-Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, page 91.)"

A P P E N D I X

(1) T O O - 26449

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, now residing in Cuba, and his concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism, that is, one involving the struggles of the nonwhite races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he now publishes a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana.

This source in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States, by violence if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely nonwhite in membership, clandestine in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Bandung World," that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from an RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Don Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin." Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford, now of New York City, formerly of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, serving as RAM Field Chairman.

A P P E N D I X

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(2)

This source stated in May, 1965, there has been no formal headquarters, as such, for RAM but that headquarters have been with Freeman since he has played such a dominant role in the leadership of and has directed the policies and activities of the organization.

Within recent months, according to the second source, dissension within RAM has become evident and some dissatisfaction with Freeman's leadership has arisen. So far as is known, however, he remains the titular leader of RAM.

To date, according to the second source in May, 1965, RAM has organized units and membership in several of the larger cities in the United States east of the Mississippi River and the organization is currently active in attempting to recruit new members and expand its sphere of influence.

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(1)

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on May 27, 1963, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On May 27, 1963, the second source advised that in the past he has considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed communist principles.

The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communist.

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A P P E N D I X

WFO - 26449

(1)

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA

A source advised on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the Founding Convention for the new youth organization was held during the period of June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E. B. DuBois Clubs of America was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternatives."

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The constitution further states this new organization shall be a membership organization open to individuals or, if five or more people so desire, a chapter can be formed which shall in turn be guided by the policies and principles of the parent organization.

The second source advised in April, 1965, the headquarters of the organization continues to be located at 1953 1/2 McAllister Street, San Francisco, California.

Both sources have advised that at the Founding Convention two officers were elected: Philip Chapin Davis - President; Carl Ellenger Bloice - Publications Chairman.

A third source advised on October 26, 1962, Philip Davis attended a CP recruiting class held at 1579 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

A fourth source advised that Carl Bloice, reporter for the "People's World," was, on April 3, 1964, elected to the newly organized San Francisco County Committee of the CP.

The "People's World" is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

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(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
CLEVELAND, OHIO

A source, on June 9, 1965, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and it is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as the majority of its members are members of the SWP. Source related that its activities are aimed toward youth on college campuses and that it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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(1)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
KENT, OHIO

A source, on June 3, 1965, reported that the Kent, Ohio, Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), however, the membership of this branch are not members of the SWP, but do attend functions sponsored by the SWP. Its activities are aimed toward obtaining membership on college campuses and it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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A P P E N D I X

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CLEVELAND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 5-11-66	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/21/66 - 5/10/66
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY amk
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [REDACTED] 10-25-65, at Cleveland.
 Report of SA [REDACTED] 2-4-66, at Atlanta.

- P* -

LEADS

CLEVELAND DIVISION

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO:

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

Instant Report

APPROVED: <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW																									
COPIES MADE: 5 - Bureau (100-349190) (RM) 1 - G-2 Headquarters, Secpnd U.S. Army, Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM) 1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pa. (RM) 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 2 - Cleveland (100-26449)	<div style="text-align: right; border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; transform: rotate(-15deg);"> REC-139 </div> <div style="text-align: center; border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; margin-top: 10px;"> 100-439190-11-6 11 MAY 13 1966 </div>																									
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55 MAY 31 1966

INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED]

✓ [REDACTED]

Characterization of PHILIP
PASSEN

✓ [REDACTED]

Characterization of DON
GUREWITZ

✓ [REDACTED]

Characterization of DON
GUREWITZ

✓ [REDACTED]

Characterization of DON
GUREWITZ

✓ [REDACTED]

Characterization of DON
GUREWITZ

✓ [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

✓ [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of RON
LUCAS

INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED]

Characterization of PHIL
BART

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of TED
COHEN

[REDACTED]

Characterization of PAUL
LODICO

Characterization of DAN
ROSENSHINE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of SIDNEY
PECK

INFORMANTS continued

SOURCE

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

LOCATION

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified "CONFIDENTIAL" because information from [REDACTED] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army,
Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
1 - ONI, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB,
Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 5-11-66

Office: Cleveland

Field Office File #: 100-26449

Bureau File #: 100-349190⁴³

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENTS
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) continues to be located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio. PHILIP PASSEN identified as President of Cleveland chapter of SNCC; ROY GINSBURG and DON GUREWITZ identified as officers of Cleveland chapter of SNCC. Association of SNCC members with representatives of W.E.B. Du Bois Club of America, Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party set forth. Activities of SNCC members in connection with meetings and demonstrations of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam set forth. Officers of SNCC chapter at Kent State University identified.

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Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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V. OFFICERS OF SNCC CHAPTER AT KENT STATE UNIVERSITY.	8-9

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is predicated upon information indicating that the Cleveland chapter of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office is located at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of Communist Party (CP) infiltration of SNCC or if SNCC is a specific target for infiltration by the CP or the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The FBI is not investigating the legitimate activities of SNCC.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on May 6, 1966, that SNCC continues to maintain its headquarters at Apartment 6, 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on May 6, 1966, that PHILIP PASSEN is the President of the Western Reserve University chapter of SNCC. Source stated that the other officers of this chapter are ROY GINSBURG and DON GUREWITZ.

SUBJECT ORGANIZATION [REDACTED] advised on June 30, 1965, that he heard on June 3, 1965, that PHILIP PASSEN was a member of the Cleveland branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (CBYSA). PASSEN was observed at an open forum sponsored by the Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party (CBSWP) on June 27, 1965. MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

A characterization of CBYSA and CBSWP appears in the appendix section of this report.

[REDACTED] advised on June 29, 1965, that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Springs, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[REDACTED] on January 14, 1963, identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

[REDACTED] advised on February 20, 1964, that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

[REDACTED] advised on February 10, 1965, that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist Movement.

IV. CP AND SWP INTEREST OR INFLUENCE
IN SNCC ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED] advised on October 16, 1965, that on September 25, 1965, the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) sponsored a demonstration on Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio, to protest United States policy in Viet Nam. In addition to DCA members, several members of SNCC were observed participating in the demonstration.

A characterization of DCA appears in the appendix section of this report.

[REDACTED] advised on October 11, 1965, that on October 1, 1965, a farewell party was held at the DCA Clubhouse, Cleveland, Ohio, for RON LUCAS who was leaving for Indonesia. Source stated that SNCC members were present at this party. It was announced at the party that PHIL BART would not be at this farewell because he had another meeting to go to that night.

[REDACTED] advised on November 26, 1965, that RON LUCAS was at that time a member of the CP Youth Club in Cleveland.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on November 9, 1965, that on October 12, 1965, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at the Unitarian Society, 8143 Euclid Avenue. Representatives of the YSA, SDS, SNCC, and DCA were present. Plans were made for a discussion and workshop on October 15, 1965. A vigil was planned for the night of October 15, 1965, at the Cleveland Public Square and a demonstration was planned for October 16, 1965. Plans were also made to go to the Draft Board induction center and pass out leaflets telling the draftees how to legally get out of the draft.

[REDACTED] advised on October 28, 1965, that on October 19, 1965, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at SNCC headquarters on Stearns Road. DON GUREWITZ and other SNCC members were present and also members of the DCA, YSA, and SWP. The lack of police protection for demonstrators was deplored. Incidents were related to explain this lack of police protection.

[REDACTED] on October 20, 1965, furnished an announcement of an open forum to be held on October 24, 1965, and which was to be sponsored by the CBSWE. This announcement stated that a panel discussion entitled "Young Radicals View Social Change" was to be held on October 24, 1965. It announced other groups would be represented as follows:

TED COHEN, DCA

DON GUREWITZ, Cleveland SNCC

PAUL LODICO, YSA

4112 DICK MAGIDOFF, SDS

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] advised on May 2, 1966,
that PAUL LODICO is currently a member
of the SWP, in Cleveland.

[REDACTED] advised on October 25, 1965, that on
October 24, 1965, an open forum sponsored by the SWP
was held at 5927 Euclid Avenue. The topic of dis-
cussion was "Young Radicals View Social Change."
Among the members of the panel were TED COHEN of the
DCA, DON GUREWITZ of SNCC and PAUL LODICO of YSA.

The panelists all agreed that the antiwar demon-
strations are one expression of revolution against the
JOHNSON regime expansion of the brutal war in Viet Nam.
The panelists advocated the creation of an independant
political organization to organize and lead a social
revolution. They also stated that young radicals
are the leaders and organizers of the antiwar protest
movements. They are trying to get enough people to
follow them so that they can organize a revolution
to have a social change. They also stated that they
would not settle for partial gains and concessions
but would fight for them or take them and utilize
them to fight for more fundamental changes. They also

stated that equality for the Negro people is not possible under the social system present in the United States today.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on November 4, 1965, that on October 30, 1965, an area conference of members of the DCA was held in Cleveland, Ohio. DCA members from Ohio State University, Wayne State University and Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh were present. YSA members and members of SNCC were also present. Workshops on community organizing and peace were held.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on December 17, 1965, that a meeting of the Viet Nam Day Committee was held at the Church of the Covenant, 11205 Euclid Avenue. PHIL PASSEN of SNCC acted as chairman. A vote was taken on inviting high school students to unite with the Viet Nam Day Committee. Some of the members and students were against the proposal but it was passed by a majority vote.

DANNY ROSENSHINE announced that efforts were being made to try to get YSA, DCA, SDS, SWP, CORE, SNCC, and other groups to join the Viet Nam Day Committee so that there can be one massive organization.

[REDACTED] advised on May 2, 1966, that DANNY ROSENSHINE is a current member of the SWP in Cleveland and is chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the antiwar movement.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on February 9, 1966, that on February 7, 1966, a demonstration sponsored by the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam took place at the Cleveland Public Hall. Source advised that members of the DCA, YSA, and SNCC participated in the demonstration.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on February 28, 1966, that on February 22, 1966, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam was held at the Church of the Covenant, 11205 Euclid Avenue. DON GUREWITZ of SNCC acted as chairman of the meeting. He gave a talk on the Viet Nam lobby which was followed by a question and answer period.

[REDACTED]

V. OFFICERS OF SNCC CHAPTER AT KENT
STATE UNIVERSITY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on February 9, 1966, that the following individuals are the officers of SNCC chapter at Kent State University:

MEMBERS OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

President: HAROLD ROGERS
Birth Date: 2-25-42
Home Address: 16315 Stockbridge Road,
Cleveland, Ohio

Vice-President: ROBERT BRESNAHAN
Birth Date: 5-25-43
Home Address: 2505 Olbntangy Drive,
Akron, Ohio

Secretary: FRANCES WEISS
Birth Date: 3-24-45
Home Address: North Plane Road,
Great Barrington, Massachusetts

Treasurer: PERRY M. ARENZ
Birth Date: 8-18-44
Home Address: 745 West River,
Elyria, Ohio

(1)

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates to this meeting were cautioned against the germ of anti-Soviet and anti-CP ideologies. These delegates were also told that it would be reasonable to assume that the Young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second conference of over 20 persons met in Chicago on December 28-29, 1963, for the purpose of initiating a "call" to the new youth organization and planning for a founding convention to be held in June, 1964.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution are, "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people. As young people in the forces struggling for democracy, we shall actively strive to defeat these reactionary and neo-fascist elements and to achieve complete freedom and democracy for all Americans, thus enabling each individual to freely choose and build the society he would wish to live in. Through these struggles we feel the American people will realize the viability of the socialist alternative."

10

A P P E N D I X

(1)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
CLEVELAND BRANCH

A source in April, 1943, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was organized about 1938 or 1939, and was affiliated with the National SWP and followed its policies and directives.

A second source, on June 14, 1965, advised that the Cleveland Branch SWP, with approximately sixteen members, is affiliated with the National SWP, and is currently active in Cleveland and Akron, Ohio.

A P P E N D I X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(1)

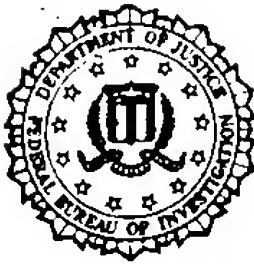
YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
CLEVELAND, OHIO

A source, on June 9, 1965, reported that the Cleveland Branch of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) was organized in 1964, is affiliated with the national YSA, follows its policies and directives, and it is close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), as the majority of its members are members of the SWP. Source related that its activities are aimed toward youth on college campuses and that it claims to be independent of the SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

May 11, 1966

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above,
at Cleveland, Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <u>CLEVELAND</u>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <u>ATLANTA</u>	DATE <u>12/7/66</u>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <u>11/21/66 - 12/2/66</u>
TITLE OF CASE <u>COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE</u>		REPORT MADE BY <u>[REDACTED]</u>	TYPED BY <u>jky</u>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <u>IS-C</u>	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 5/11/66, at Cleveland.
 Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 10/26/66, at Atlanta.
 100-439190-564

- P* -

LEAD

CLEVELAND DIVISIONAt Cleveland, Ohio

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <u>[Signature]</u>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - G-2 Headquarters, 2nd U.S. Army, Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland (RM) 1 - NIS - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM) 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 2 - Cleveland (100-26449)		100-439190-11-7 DEC 9 1966 REC-71 EX-115	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
AGENCY 6-20-66	ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER., STATE, IEE, CIO, DAO, State		
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW. 12/21/66		
By	BY [Signature]		

CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

100-26449-181

Instant report

Characterization of
DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON GUREWITZ

Characterization of DON
GUREWITZ

2295

Characterization of ERIC REINTHALER

167
154
176

Characterization of JESSE THOMAS

CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Characterization of
SIDNEY PECK

100-26449-193

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local
Intelligence Agencies for their information.

This report is being classified ~~confidential~~ because
information furnished by [REDACTED] could result in the
identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise
their future effectiveness.

- C* -
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Headquarters, Second U.S. Army,
Fort George G. Meade, Maryland (RM)
1 - NIS, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base,
Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 12/7/66

Office: CLEVELAND

Field Office File #: 100-26449

Bureau File #: 100-349190

Title: - COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, located at 2123 Stearns Road. Meetings held irregularly at Student Union Building, Western Reserve University. DON GUREWITZ and BEN BROWN reported to be SNCC co-chairmen. Other SNCC leaders' identities set forth. Cleveland Chapter of SNCC reportedly not connected with National SNCC organization. SNCC association with DCA, CP and SWP set forth. SNCC activities protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam reported. STOKELY CARMICHAEL, National SNCC Chairman, made appearance in Cleveland, August, 1966, and advocated disobedience to Selective Service laws and spoke in favor of rioting and violence.

- p* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DETAILS:

I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on June 17, 1966, that SNCC has received the approval of the authorities at Western Reserve University (WRU) to hold meetings at the Student Union Building, Thwing Hall, on the WRU campus. The source advised that SNCC does not meet regularly but when it meets it is at this location on Monday nights.

[REDACTED] advised on November 30, 1966, that on November 10, 1966, he learned that SNCC continues to maintain a headquarters in an apartment at 2123 Stearns Road, Cleveland, Ohio.

III. OFFICERS

OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on June 17, 1966, that the Co-Chairmen of SNCC are DON GUREWITZ and BEN BROWN. Source advised that DON GUREWITZ is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and BEN BROWN is a student at Case Institute of Technology. Concerning BROWN, the source also advised that he teaches in a tutorial project in the Hough area of Cleveland. BROWN also was in Mississippi during Easter, 1966, in connection with a voter registration campaign.

A characterization of YSA appears in the Appendix of this report.

DON GUREWITZ:

OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on 6/29/65, that DONALD GUREWITZ of Silver Springs, Maryland, is the son of CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ.

[REDACTED] on 1/14/63, identified CLARENCE GUREWITZ as a current member of the CP.

[REDACTED] advised on 2/20/64, that HELEN GUREWITZ was a member of the CP as of that date.

[REDACTED] advised on 2/10/65, that CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ were still active in the Communist Movement.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION.

[REDACTED] advised on November 30, 1966, that he learned on November 10, 1966, that CYNTHIA HIRSCH, LYNN HANDELMAN, MARY BETH GORALNIK, aka Nancy Case, and BRIAN SCANLON, all WRU students, were leaders of SNCC at the University but the source did not know what their official titles, if any, were.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF SNCC

[REDACTED] advised on June 1, 1966, that on May 20, 1966, he attended a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) meeting held at Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. In connection with this meeting he heard ERIC REINTHALER, in discussing SNCC, state that STOKELY CARMICHAEL is now the head of SNCC and a member of the Black Panther Party. REINTHALER stated that SNCC, in general, is very disappointed in President JOHNSON's lukewarm action in connection with the fight for Negro equality. He stated that he expects that SNCC will make some demands on "Society" in areas such as police brutality, political action and similar fields.

[REDACTED] advised on 5/6/66, that ERIC REINTHALER is an organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Cleveland.

C. P. MEMBERS

The SWP is an organization designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order

10450.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on 6/7/66, that JESSE THOMAS was present at the Ohio CP State Convention held at Cleveland, Ohio, on 6/4-5/66, and during this convention THOMAS was elected as a member of the CP State Committee and a delegate to the CPUSA National Convention to be held in New York City in June, 1966.

The Cleveland Press, October 19, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "True Story of Black Power is SNCC Goal Here":

"A small, enthusiastic civil rights group at Western Reserve University will stick with SNCC.

"Black power and all.

"SNCC is the nickname of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee which has come into increasing controversy and is reported to be losing white support. The students at Western Reserve call themselves the Friends of SNCC.

"They have been active on the WRU campus for more than a year, mostly raising funds for the civil rights efforts of SNCC in the South.

"Last year they also sent 20 students to Mississippi and Louisiana for the voter registration drive. And they sent books and clothing to Negro school children.

"But it's been a long hot summer, with riots in the big city slums, the emergence of Stokely Carmichael and black power as a force in SNCC. It's the frank and brutal talk of violence in the drive for Negro rights.

"Has all this changed the minds of the friends of SNCC?

"In interviews with The Press today, the individual members made it clear that they have no intention of running away from their convictions. They insist that black power is misunderstood, that the rights fight is not over.

"Attractive Mary Beth Goralnick, a sophomore sociology student from St. Louis, puts it this way:

"'Basically, I still believe in the ideas of SNCC. My beliefs in freedom for the Negro haven't changed. Of course I don't believe in everything that Stokely Carmichael says. But I think we as students have a very important job to do here in Cleveland - to educate and to try and interpret the movement to the white community.'

"Cynthia Hirsch, also a sophomore, from Scranton, Pa., put it a little differently:

"'There are injustices going on right here in Cleveland, that you never hear about or read about in the newspapers. I think we have to go to the community and try to help in any way we can.'

"Said Brian Scanlon of Tenafly, N.J.: 'I personally think our main job is to tell the people what really happened this summer, in the ghettos and in the South. It is important to present the black power story fairly. I don't think that has been done yet.'

"Nancy Case is a pretty English and political science student from Chicago. She frankly admits that the events of the past summer have changed the role of the workers in the movement.

"'I think our job is to make people aware of what black power is and what it isn't. And I think we have to let people know what the Negro mood really is,' she said.

"'I think one of our functions is to expose these ideas to other students so that they are aware of what the situation really is. You just can't hide from this sort of thing,' said Lynn Handelman, a Chicago sophomore."

V. COMMUNIST PARTY (CP) W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF AMERICA (DCA) AND SWP CONNECTIONS WITH SNCC

A characterization of DCA appears in the Appendix of this report.

[REDACTED] advised on June 29 and July 5, 1966, that a session of the 18th National Convention of the CP was held on June 24, 1966, at New York City. At this session plans were discussed concerning CP Youth Club members in Cleveland approaching SNCC and other organizations to enlist their support for a march on Washington to be held in August.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on October 27, 1966, that on October 9, 1966, a SWP meeting was held at Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. At this meeting NANCY CASE, as a SNCC spokesman, told the audience that SNCC will include white people in its program which has been misinterpreted. She stated that SNCC is helping Negroes to win equality, jobs, better housing, decent living conditions, good neighborhoods and good schools.

The information reported by [REDACTED] concerning the SWP meeting held on October 9, 1966, was confirmed by [REDACTED] on October 10, 1966; [REDACTED] on October 13, 1966; and [REDACTED] on October 10, 1966.

VI. SNCC ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH
PROTESTING U.S. POLICY CONCERNING VIETNAM

[REDACTED] advised on August 9, 1966, that on August 6, 1966, the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam held a rally in the Main Ballroom of the Manger Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the main speaker. CARMICHAEL spoke on the decay of western civilization. He said that the United States

must be brought to its knees. He stated "Any black man who fights for this country is a black mercenary". CARMICHAEL questioned the right of the United States and England to determine when an African or Asian country should be given independence. He stated that it is his belief that every country has the right of self-determination. He criticized reactionary and left wing groups for appealing to the wrong group of people. He proposed that they encourage white youths not to obey the Selective Service System.

The information furnished by [REDACTED] concerning the rally held on August 6, 1966, was confirmed by [REDACTED] on August 12, 1966.

[REDACTED] advised on September 12, 1966, that on September 10, 1966, a conference was held at Newton D. Baker Hall at Western Reserve University. The purpose of this conference was to set a date for demonstrations all over the United States to promote civil rights and to protest against U.S. participation in Vietnam.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION
One of the speakers at this conference was WILLIAM HIGGS, a SNCC representative. HIGGS alleged that during the previous week members of the Atlanta Police Department, armed with shotguns and tear gas, brutally crushed a demonstration by Black citizens in Atlanta. He stated that these people were exercising their constitutional rights when they were brutalized. He also stated that several political arrests were made including the arrest of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, the Chairman of SNCC. HIGGS revealed that Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY expressed approval of the City of Atlanta's action in a telephone call to the Atlanta Mayor. He said that this action by the Atlanta Police Department paralleled the action of the United States in Vietnam where the U.S. suppresses revolution with napalm and then casts the blame for the resultant devastation on those who are attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government. He stated that in a similar manner in Atlanta the culpability for "inciting a riot" is not placed upon the white policeman who pulled the trigger and killed a Negro but upon STOKELY CARMICHAEL who courageously stands for self-determination for the people in Vietnam and for the black people of the United States. HIGGS urged all present to send telegrams to Atlanta Mayor IVAN ALLEN, asking him to release STOKELY CARMICHAEL from jail.

Ohio [redacted] advised on October 31, 1966, that on October 30, 1966, a meeting of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam was held at the Student Union Hall, Western Reserve University. At this meeting final plans were made for the November 5-8, 1966, mobilization for peace in Vietnam. The main speaker was SIDNEY PECK. PECK indicated in his speech that many organizations would participate in the mobilization including the Friends of SNCC.

[redacted]

VII. APPEARANCE OF STOKELY CARMICHAEL IN CLEVELAND

[redacted] advised on August 6, 1966, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which was held on August 5, 1966, at Cory Methodist Church, 1117 East 105th Street, Cleveland, Ohio. According to the source there were approximately 800 people present at the meeting. Source advised that STOKELY CARMICHAEL stated that he has nothing against rioting and burning. He explained "Black Power" as a movement that will smash everything the western civilization has created. He said that Black Power picks up where MALCOLM X left off. CARMICHAEL urged that everything be burned. He stated that the purpose of Black Power is to bring this country to its knees.

He also urged Negroes not to serve in the Armed Forces. He said that Negroes serving in Vietnam are mercenaries. He stated that the white race is the enemy. He made a plea for unity among Negroes, urging that white people not be allowed to spread back unity.

The above information was confirmed by [redacted] on 8/9/66, by [redacted] on 8/9/66, and by [redacted] on 8/10/66.

VIII. NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CONCERNING STOKELY CARMICHAEL

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 8, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "SWEENEY Blasts SNCC Leader as Anarchist", as follows:

"U.S. Rep., Robert E. Sweeney, D-at-large, last night condemned Stokely Carmichael as 'an anarchist... puppet leader...an individual masquerading as a supposed - civil rights leader.'

"Carmichael is leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). During the weekend he defined 'black power' and called Negro soldiers in Vietnam 'black mercenaries.'

"Speaking to the Catholic War Veterans at a banquet in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church in Lakewood, Sweeney said he felt compelled to offer a rebuttal to Carmichael's statements.

"'Here is an individual (Carmichael) masquerading as a supposed civil rights leader, who is nothing more than an anarchist and an extremist, who...will do more harm to the civil rights crusade than anyone who has appeared on the American scene in this decade, including Gov. George Wallace of Alabama,' Sweeney said.

"'I think it appropriate that veterans organizations in this county unite in their response lest one soldier in Vietnam get the idea that there is any diluting of support on the home front for their sacrifices in the field.'

"Sweeney called Carmichael 'a dangerous American.'

"Sweeney, a candidate in November for attorney general of Ohio, said he will consult U.S. Atty. Gen. Nicholas B. Katzenbach as to whether appropriate 'criminal action might be instituted in the federal courts against Mr. Carmichael.'

"'This weekend, we came to understand what Mr. Carmichael meant by black power,' Sweeney stated, 'and boiling it down to its simplest, it amounts to: let's raise

"havoc in the street and turn America upside down."

"If this doesn't constitute the advocacy of the use of force and violence to overthrow the duly constituted government of the United States of America or something close to it, then I miss my guess."

"Sweeney told the veterans group that every veteran can applaud the efforts of genuine civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins."

IX. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON SNCC IN CLEVELAND NEWSPAPERS

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 25, 1966 edition, contained an editorial captioned "Irresponsible Voice". This editorial commented as follows:

"The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee's denunciation of the White House conference on Civil Rights comes with bad grace at a time when honest efforts are being made to find tangible solutions to pressing national problems.

"Careful planning over a period of many weeks has gone into the conference scheduled for next month to attack the big problems of housing, jobs and schools in America's Negro ghettos.

"Many groups with a sincere dedication to the task of achieving equality and a better lot for their less fortunate brothers will be represented at the conference. Many important voices will be heard.

"In its statement on non-participation, SNCC recklessly pre-judged the conference in declaring that President JOHNSON and the executive department 'are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black Americans.'

"The SNCC posture that 'we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights in this country when he flagrantly violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam' is ridiculous.

"Any beliefs that SNCC is a responsible voice of dissent and protest in the civil rights struggle should be shattered by this outburst."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer, October 18, 1966 edition, contained an article captioned "City Facing More Riots, Negroes Say". This article stated as follows:

"Cleveland faces more race riots and the action will not be confined to the predominantly Negro neighborhoods. Civil rights legislation and moves toward integration will not help.

"This was the gist of speeches by two Negro leaders yesterday at a meeting of the Friends of SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) in the Student Union of Western Reserve University. About 60 persons attended.

"The speakers were Henry Austan, a Bogalusa, La., official of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, and Lewis G. Robinson, director of the now closed JFK House.

"Austan was here to appeal for money in a national fund-raising drive for the Deacons. He speaks at Baldwin-Wallace College Thursday and at Oberlin College Friday. Robinson attacked Councilman Leo A. Jackson, D-24, on the issue of black power.

"Austan said Negro neighborhoods are like 'smoldering volcanos that will explode. When they do, even Shaker Heights will not be safe.'

"Attacking non-violent civil rights leaders, Austan said: 'George Washington didn't march singing 'We Shall Overcome'. The Alamo was not a non-violent protest.'

"On integration, Austan said: 'Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny are equally improbable.' On military service, he said: 'If it's rational to go to Vietnam to defend Vietnamese democracy, it is also rational to stay - home and protect my own people.'

"On the war in Vietnam Austan said: 'There's no Viet Cong in the ghetto exploiting me, and there's no Viet Cong on the police force and in the power structure.'

"He said the problem is not black power but white power. He defined white power as '400 years of economic intimidation and violence' against Negroes.

"Robinson said that while he planned to attack Jackson vigorously, he decided against it because Jackson was a victim of the 'system'.

"He said that the Negro community does not want integration. It wants freedom, equality and brotherhood.

"Robinson said the community 'needs more places - like the JFK House'. He charged the owner who sold the JFK House building to the city lied when he said no one wanted to buy it.

"'We offered to buy it for \$6,000 last year and \$2,000 this year', Robinson said."

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

- A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to its constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anticommunism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1 CV-100-26449

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist," (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the founding declaration of YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

A source advised on May 23, 1966, that the original YSA was an organization formed during October, 1957, in New York City, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The leaders of this group were the guiding forces in the establishment of the national organization.

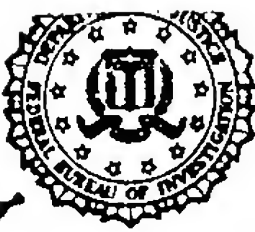
The source further advised on May 23, 1966, that the YSA is dominated and controlled on a national basis by the SWP through having SWP members comprise exclusively the National Executive Committee (NEC). The YSA, in reality, is the youth and training section for the SWP and the main source of new SWP members.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A P P E N D I X



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-26449

Cleveland, Ohio
December 7, 1966

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT
NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED] dated
and captioned as above, at Cleveland,
Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CLEVELAND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 6/13/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/22/67 - 6/13/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY jsj
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCES

Report of SA [REDACTED] 12/7/66, at Cleveland.

- P* -

LEADSCLEVELAND:AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of this organization.

0-7 to Cleveland
6/30/67 p. 3 p. 2 L3
change to to by (DCA)
characterization missing
BU is corrected PTB/ML

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE:		<div style="text-align: right;">REC 7</div> <div style="text-align: center;">100-439190-11-8 JUN 19 1967</div>	
9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - G-2 Headquarters, First US ARMY, ATT: DCSINT, Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland 20755 (RM) 1 - NIS - Philadelphia, Pa. (RM) 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 2 - Cleveland (100-26449)			
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations	
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.	<div style="text-align: center;">IND. SEC.</div> <div style="text-align: center;">100 922 980</div>	
Request Recd.	SEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO		
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: 6/30/67		
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: R/S		
By	54 JUL 5 1967		

CV 100-26449

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

[REDACTED]

This report

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of
DAN ROSENSHINE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified ~~confidential~~ because information furnished by [REDACTED] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

- B* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - G-2 Headquarters, [redacted]
ATT: DCSINT, [redacted] [redacted], ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Maryland 20755 (RM)

Copy to: 1 - NIS - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (RM)
1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio (RM)

Report of: SA [redacted] Office: CLEVELAND, OHIO
Date: 6/15/67

Field Office File #: (100-26449) Bureau File #: (100-439190)

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC organization in Cleveland, presently does not have local headquarters. Cleveland SNCC organization reportedly inactive and shows no signs of militancy at this time. SNCC organization mentioned at SWP meetings and the meeting of WILPF.

- P* -

DETAILS:I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on June 1, 1967, that SNCC has no known headquarters at this time. He stated that he has heard that SNCC does have permission to use the Student Union Building on the Western Reserve University (WRU) campus.

III. OFFICERS

[REDACTED] advised on June 1, 1967, that he knows of only one SNCC representative in Cleveland at this time. He identified him as RANDALL MURRAY, 1539 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio. Source did not know what official capacity, if any, that RANDALL MURRAY has in SNCC.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND CHAPTER OF THE SNCC

[REDACTED] advised on May 2, 1967, that the SNCC organization in the Cleveland area is supposedly a campus group at WRU. Source advised that to his knowledge SNCC is completely inactive at this time and shows no signs of militancy in the Cleveland area.

V. CONNECTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) AND THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF)

The SWP has been designated by the U.S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

WILPF is a self described international womens peace organization having as its purpose the attainment of world peace through international disarmament.

[REDACTED]

CV 100-26449

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on May 2, 1966, that ROSENSHINE is a current member of the SWP in Cleveland and is Chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Viet Nam, being paid by the SWP to devote full time to the anti-war movement.

A characterization of the DCA appears in the appendix section.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA
CLEVELAND CHAPTER (DCA-CC)

A source on August 30, 1965, advised that on August 12, 1965, the Cleveland Chapter of the DCA was issued a charter by the National Organization and it was approved by five members signing the charter.

This same source advised on May 4, 1966, that all of the current principal officers of the DCA-CC were members of the Communist Party.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

5*

APPENDIX

1

W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-26449

June 15, 1967

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	is made to the report of SA [REDACTED] [REDACTED], dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CLEVELAND	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 12/26/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/1 - 20/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY VMS
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED] 6/15/67,
at Cleveland.

- P* -

LEADS:CLEVELANDAT CLEVELAND, OHIO

Will continue to follow and report activities of
this organization.

APPROVED
COPIES MADE:

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

SEE COVER PAGE "B"

REC-47

1 DEC 20 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency	AGENCY: FBI, [REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED]
Request Recd.	[REDACTED]
Date Fwd.	11/5/68
By	[REDACTED]

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CV 100-26449

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- 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton,
Ohio (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (100-26449)

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

Location in File

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of RON LUCAS,
CONNIE BART.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-26449-248

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-26449-248

CV 100-26449

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being designated to local intelligence agencies for their information.

This report is being classified "~~Confidential~~" because information furnished by [REDACTED] could result in the identification of informants of continuing value and thus compromise their future effectiveness.

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**Copy to:**

- 1 - Commanding Officer, Region IV, 109th
MI Group, P.O. Box 868, Columbus, Ohio
43216 (RM)
- 1 - NIS - Philadelphia, Pa. (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton,
Ohio (RM)

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office:

Cleveland

Date:

12/26/67

Field Office File #:

100-26449

Bureau File #:

100-439190

Title:

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

SNCC organization in Cleveland presently does not have local headquarters. Individuals purportedly connected with SNCC activity in Cleveland have been unsuccessful in organizing Cleveland Chapter of SNCC. Cleveland SNCC organization reportedly inactive at this time. Meeting held at local high school to organize SNCC chapter on 9/20/67 was completely unsuccessful. Articles and editorials critical of SNCC advocacy of violence appearing in local newspapers set forth.

- P* -

Summary:**I. BASIS FOR INVESTIGATION**

This investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent of the Communist Party's (CP) infiltration of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) or whether SNCC is a specific target for infiltration.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~**GROUP I**

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

This investigation is not intended to indicate any interest in the legitimate activities of SNCC.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

[REDACTED] advised on December 20, 1967, that SNCC has no local headquarters in the Cleveland area at this time.

III. OFFICERS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) appears in the Appendix of this report.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on December 20, 1967, that it is his observation that ALEX WEATHERS lists his name on local anti-Vietnam literature as a SNCC representative. He stated that WEATHERS has done nothing to organize SNCC in the Cleveland area nor is he involved in any activities with SNCC.

[REDACTED]

Concerning TOM HURT, [REDACTED] advised that he has been active in the draft resistance movement but has not had any connection with SNCC activities in the Cleveland area.

IV. CHARACTER OF THE CLEVELAND
CHAPTER OF SNCC

[REDACTED] advised on December 20, 1967, that SNCC at this time is completely inactive in Cleveland and there is no indication that it will become militant in the Cleveland area. There is no indication that active SNCC Chapters are being formed at local colleges or high schools.

V. LOCAL ACTIVITIES CONNECTED
WITH SNCC

[REDACTED] advised on September 20, 1967, that a meeting to organize a SNCC chapter in Cleveland was held on this date in a field behind Glenville High School. RON LUCAS was the Master of Ceremonies and there were two other speakers. Source stated that there was much heckling and ridiculing from the audience, which consisted mainly of students from Glenville High School. The speeches were in no way invitations to violence, and there were no inflammatory remarks. RON LUCAS made the comment that no active SNCC chapter presently exists in Cleveland and that the purpose of the meeting was to get one organized. According to the source, the meeting was a complete failure as far as getting recruits for SNCC was concerned.

[REDACTED] confirmed the information above on September 20, 1967.

111
[REDACTED] advised on October 4, 1967, that on September 23, 1967, an anti-Vietnam war rally was held at Western Reserve University (WVU). Among the speakers was one JOHN WILSON who was introduced as a National spokesman for SNCC. In his speech, WILSON espoused violence and stated that where violence was used in the racial disturbances some gains were made. He predicted that more violence and riots will occur if black people are not given more human rights. At one point in his speech, WILSON threatened to punch a previous speaker who had referred to Negroes as "boys." WILSON also stated that he did not advocate any of the "isms" like socialism or Communism to solve the problems in this country. He did not state what his solution was.

The above information was confirmed by [REDACTED]
on September 26, 1967.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

VI. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES CONCERNING
SNCC APPEARING IN LOCAL PAPERS

The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" June 22, 1967, edition contained an editorial captioned, "Violence From The 'Non-Violent'". This editorial condemned SNCC for its open advocacy of violence in Negro communities throughout the country. It stated that wild, wreckless, statements by RALPH FEATHERSTONE, SNCC National Program Director, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, SNCC Former National Chairman, do deep harm to the cause of civil rights and racial justice. It stated that if SNCC is to return to the ranks of sane and responsible organizations which work effectively to advance the cause of civil rights and racial justice, its members must not play follow-the-leader with those of the CARMICHAEL - FEATHERSTONE brand.

The Cleveland "Press" July 29, 1967, edition contained an article captioned, "MINSHALL Asks Treason Charge for CARMICHAEL." This article stated that Republican Congressman WILLIAM MINSHALL of Cleveland demanded that STOKELY CARMICHAEL be arrested for treason if he returns to the United States. He stated that he was "shocked and dismayed" at statements of SNCC leaders who have advocated more violent Negro uprisings in United States cities.

Referring to CARMICHAEL, MINSHALL stated, "It is reprehensible to me and to every loyal American of every race, creed and color that this character can openly advocate— from the Communist bastion in this hemisphere, CASTRO's Havana—rebellion in our country."

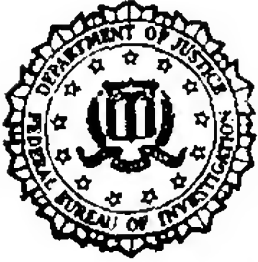
The Cleveland "Plain Dealer" August 16, 1967, edition contained an editorial captioned, "SNCC, KKK, MAO." This editorial stated that SNCC is now in the category with white supremacist bodies, American Nazis and Moscow and Peking Communists. The editorial stated that SNCC was being put in this category because of its attack on Zionism, Israel and, "Those Jews in the little Jew shops in the Negro ghettos." It stated that SNCC's new line splits it as far from reality as Red China's jumble-headed cultural revolutionists now chanting sayings of MAO from the deck of their freighter in the harbor of Genoa, Italy, while refusing to leave that port on port officials' orders.

The Cleveland "Press" October 27, 1967, edition contained an article captioned, "Non-violent SNCC Called No Longer Non-violent." This article stated that Rabbi ARTHUR J. LELYVELD, long active in the civil rights movement, stated that "SNCC is no longer student nor non-violent nor coordinating." It stated that SNCC is not any longer the organization it was when it participated in Negro rights efforts in the South in 1964.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~1STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~A P P E N D I X



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cleveland, Ohio
December 26, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-26449

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA [REDACTED] dated and captioned as above, at Cleveland, Ohio.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 7 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE DALLAS	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 2/29/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/28/67 - 2/23/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY [REDACTED]	TYPED BY WVM
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE: Bureau airtel to Albany dated 1/31/68.
Dallas airtel to Bureau dated 2/16/68.

- P -

LEADSHOUSTON, SAN ANTONIO, EL PASO - INFORMATION

One copy given to each of above due to inter-related investigation of SNCC. Leads have previously been furnished these offices concerning pending Texas Black Youth Conference (TBYC) at Dallas, Texas, in March, 1968.

DALLAS

AT DALLAS, TEXAS. 1. Through informants and established sources, continue to follow general SNCC activities.

2. Maintain contact with racial sources to obtain information regarding location of TBYC in Dallas, financial backing for conference, housing for attendees, and identities

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9- Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 2- 112th MIG, Dallas (RM) 1- NISO, New Orleans (RM) 1- OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM) 2- Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 1- El Paso (100-5952) (Info) (RM) 1- Houston (100-10390) (Info) (RM) 1- San Antonio (157-269) (Info) (RM) 2- Dallas (100-10996)		150-439190-1777 100-439190-126X6 4 MAR 4 1968 REC-55 REC-1 EX-108	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY	ACSF, OSF, SEC. SERV., FSD	RACIAL INT. SECT a 7 to DA, 3/19/68 correct synopsis, last line 3/21 to 3/22. Bu copies, [unclear]	
REQUEST RECD.	CRD, Cim, IDIU		
DATE FWD.	3/19/68		
HOW FWD.	R/S, [unclear]		
37 MAR 27 1968			

DL 100-10996

of SNCC officials who will attend TBYC.

3. Furnish Dallas, Texas, PD identities of all rabble rousers furnished to Dallas by outlying offices.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

Instant report, pages 2 & 8
to SA [REDACTED]
100-11486-4

[REDACTED]
1176; 1186; 1177; 1199
[REDACTED]

Instant report, pages 8-10, 18
to SA [REDACTED]
100-11486-4

100-11463-13

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
100-11444-2

[REDACTED]
100-11444-2

- B -

COVER PAGE

DL 100-10926

Identity of Source

File Where Located

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-11444-60

[REDACTED]

Instant report, page 20
to SA [REDACTED]

ADMINISTRATIVE

The following is set out regarding individuals
mentioned in details of report:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

- C -

COVER PAGE

DL 100-10996

[REDACTED]

This report is classified "Confidential" due to information furnished by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] which could result in disclosure, which would be prejudicial to the security of the Nation.

- D* -

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 2- 112th MIG, Dallas, Texas (RM)
1- NISO, New Orleans (RM)
1- OSI, Tinker AFB, Oklahoma (RM)
Report of: [REDACTED] Office: Dallas, Texas
Date: 2/29/68
Field Office File No.: 100-10996 Bureau File No.: 100-439190
Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

- P -

DETAILS:ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
(see appendix for characterization) in Dallas, Texas, is
located at the residence of MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, 2803

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1
Excluded from auto-
matic downgrading
and declassification.

DL 100-10326

South Boulevard, Apartment 4.

Ernie
Ernest
[REDACTED] February 13, 1968)

LEADERSHIP

28-3 S. Blvd. apt 4
DS/1/10
12/10
Jn
MARION ERNEST MC MILLAN, II, has on numerous occasions identified himself as the Dallas SNCC representative and has used the title of SNCC Field Secretary. MC MILLAN was born on October 6, 1944, at Dallas, Texas, and attended the University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas, during the period February, 1965 to March, 1967, as a pre-law student. He is not known to be employed at the present time.

[REDACTED] January 23, 1968 and
February 13, 1968)

An article appeared in the October 10, 1967, issue of "The Dallas Morning News," a daily Dallas, Texas, newspaper, on page 12 referred to MC MILLAN as a "Field Secretary for SNCC." According to the article, MC MILLAN had recently been active with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (see appendix for characterization) group in Dallas and in passing out literature pointing out things a person can do to avoid being drafted. This article also referred to MC MILLAN as "a 23 year old Negro and an avowed member of SNCC."

(The Dallas Morning News,
October 10, 1967)

Form DD-1584, which is part of the record of the U.S. Army, Fort Holabird, Maryland, dated June 16, 1967, contained certain background information regarding MC MILLAN. Included in data regarding former employers was the statement that MC MILLAN was employed by SNCC, 960 Nelson Street, Atlanta, Georgia, from January, 1964, to August, 1965.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]